THE PROVINCE OF BIHAR UNDER THE MUGHAL RULE
1658 - 1765

7301

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE

L.N. MITHILA UNIVERSITY
DARBHANGA

IN

CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

HISTORY

1999

Prepared under the supervision of :

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M.A., D.T.L., D.Litt. (Turkey),
B.F.A. (Somalia, East Africa)
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Darbhanga (Bihar).

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "The Province Of Bihar Under The Mughal Rule, 1658-1765 A.D." embodies the result of the original research work accomplished by Mr. Mohd. Ansarul Haque, Assistant Director of Archives, National Archives of India, Regional Office, Bhopal under my supervision. I consider it suitable for submission for the award of the degree of Ph.D. in History. It is further certified that the present work is the author's original contribution and that the contents of the thesis did not form a basis, partly or solely, for the award of any previous degree to him or to anybody to the best of my knowledge.

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For the collection ofsource material, I had to work for a considerable time in the Khuda Bakhsh Orientl Public Library, Patna, Bihar State Archives, Patna, as well as Patna University Library (Manuscript Section), and I acknowledge with gratitude the immense help and hospitality extended to me by (Late) Professor S.H. Askari, (Late) Professor Qeyamuddin Ahmad, Dr. Jata Shankar Jha, ex-Director, K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna and Dr. Masoom Raza Kazmi, ex-Asstt. Director, Bihar State Archives Patna. I should like to record my deep sense of gratitude for my mentor Prof. Zahiruddin Malik, Centre of Advanced Study in Medieval Indian History, A.M.U. Aligarh (now retired) who had originally suggested me that being a son of Bihar I should work on its history and helped me in various ways.

I am also thankful to Dr. S. Sarkar, Director General of Archives, National Archives of India, New Delhi who has very kindly permitted me to continue my research studies and to get myself registered with L.N. Mithila University, Darbhanga for obtaining a Ph.D. degree.

Before I conclude, I would like to acknowledge my deep sense of gratitude to my esteemed father (Late) Janab Mohd. Anwarul Haque, alias Lal Babu (Mukhia), my uncle Professor Mohd. Zeyaul Haque 'Nazar', Head Deptt. of Botany, Millat College (Darbhanga), my ailing mother Bibi Afifa Khatoon and my wife Mrs. Shahina Kausar including my loving kids Faizi, Nida, Shaiqa and Shauqi who inspite of my stresses and strains have supported and inspired me morally and materially and have waited quite patiently to see the result of their sacrifices except my revered father who could not see the fruit of my humble labour.

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My thanks are due to Mr. S.M. R. Baqar, Deputy Director of Archives who true to his reputation of having genuine interest in my Ph.D. thesis boosted up

my morale to accomplish this task expeditiously. My sincere thanks are also due to my colleague, Mr. Zakir Husain, Archivist (OR) who notwithstanding his preoccupations provided me useful informations about various aspects of the history of Bihar and invited my attention to hundreds of original administrative documents relating to my theme preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.

I am also thankful to Mr. Faiz Habib who kindly drawn the map most skilfully.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not take the opportunity to thank the staff of Research Library, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh and National Archives Library, New Delhi. Mrs. Santosh Tyagi, Asstt. Librarian (N.A.I. Library) provided me with every facility while I was extremely engaged in collecting the research materials thereat.

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Finally, I have to apologise for a number of mistakes that have crept into the work as it passed through the long computerised typing process. I am responsible for all type of misinterpretation etc. on my ownself.

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INTRODUCTION

Until recently the study of medieval Bihar has not been seriously undertaken by scholars and historical research i n this crucial epoch of its history has not advanced further afield. However, the publication of second volume of *Comprehensive History of Bihar* dealing with medieval Bihar has filled in a great lacuna. But there is still need and scope of intensive studies on second half of 17th and first half of 18th century (upto 1765) because in works produced on the general history of Bihar the subject has been treated in fragments and briefly, providing no detailed information of changes and developments that took place over the centuries, from 1200 to 1765, in the politics, economy, and socio-cultural life of this important region of India. For example, *Bihar Through the Ages*, edited by R.R. Diwakar, contains a small section on the medieval history of Bihar, which is limited to a narration of bare facts regarding the rise and fall of different ruling dynasties. Other books, like History of Bihar by R.K. Chaudhary, and Tarikh-Magadh, by Maulvi Fasih-ud-Din Balkhi suffer from similar deficiencies and defects. Even Jadu Nath Sarkar did not apply himself to the task of reconstructing the history of Bihar under Aurangzeb, and his successors notwithstanding his immense contribution to the studies of other imperial provinces, Bengal and Orissa in the eastern India, during the seventeenth century. However, valuable works on the economic history of the period have been produced by distinguished writers, like W.H. Moreland, in *Agrarian System of Muslim India*, Irfan Habib, in *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, and *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, and Jagdish Narayan Sarkar in *Glimpses of Medieval Bihar Economy*. However, these are general studies on the economic history of India, not primarily

devoted to a detailed discussion on the agrarian problems in Bihar, such as, *zamindars* relations with *jagirdars* and peasants, nature and extent of agricultural produce, working of the land revenue administration at the local levels, and growing *jagirdari* crisis that was a striking feature of 17th and 18th centuries. Moreover, no attempt has been been made in these works to co-relate and link the analysis of economic themes with political and administrative issues faced by the empire. The information given in these works has been fully utilized in shaping the chapters on the land revenue administration, agrarian relations and system, and trade and commerce in the present study. The succint account of political and cultural history of Bihar in medieval period has been provided by S.H. Askari in his article, 'Bihar in the Time of Aurangzeb', and other learned articles on 17th - 18th century Bihar which have guided me in planning the framework of this thesis. Qeyamuddin Ahmad's books, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar, 600-1200 A.H.* and *Patna Through the Ages* are extremely useful for the study of social, cultural and architectural activities in Bihar during the medieval period

With a profuse addition of original material the Indo-Mughal historiography has undergone a tremendous reconstruction, both in methodology and conceptual frame, changing the dimensions of investigation and interpretation. But the themes are in general predominantly centred round the imperial court, in which the whole range of regional activities and making-up of social forces appear as a mere tail - piece. Scientific regional studies can alone broaden the horizon of our understanding about the nature and magnitude of strains and stresses arising in different areas which in the final stage delivered hammer strokes on the strongholds of the central power structure. To fill this gap in the latest historical researches of medieval period, an

humble attempt has been made in the present work by analysing in depth the history of Bihar from 1658 to 1765, in its political, administrative, economic and socio-cultural facets on the basis of newly discovered data, which also includes a number of transcripts of original documents preserved in the National Archives of India and Bihar State Archives Patna, prepared as a result of the extensive explorations made by the Regional Record Survey Committee, Bihar which has unearthed hitherto unknown documents.

Bihar occupied a strategically important position in the Mughal empire as it formed a connecting link between the upper Gangetic plains of northern India and the eastern land of Assam and Bengal. Rich in agricultural production and natural resources, inhabited by simple and industrious people, and ever flourishing in trade and commerce, Bihar was a prize possession which Akbar had wrested after hard struggle from the Afghans and organized it as vital part of his empire. It was, moreover, a centre of learning, and cradle of religious movements. The great Mughals kept the province under their firm hands and took keen interest in its political stability and economic progress. During the reign of Aurangzeb Bihar enjoyed comparative peace and tranquility as compared to his successors and remained free from any major uprisings the type of which were witnessed by other parts of the empire. The aim of this study is to examine the political conditions which largely contributed to the stability and integrity of the province in the period of turmoil and strife. The other questions which the study seeks to answer are related to the impact of agrarian crisis on the general economy of the region, the method and style of local functionaries, the extent of agricultural and horticultural production, the pattern of trade and commerce, and the development of society in all spheres of life.

The Scope of the study covers the following themes:

In the First Chapter an attempt has been made to trace out the various phases of the great political transition through which Bihar had passed during the pre-Mughal period, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, and analyse the changes effected in the socio-political structure of the region. Against this historical setting the survey of events focusses on the process of subjugation and annexation of Bihar by Akbar, the true architect of the Mughal empire. The conquered territory was re-organized and the local administrative machinery was rejuvenated to ensure the maintenance of uniform laws and regulations, and continuity of the Mughal rule.

The Second Chapter deals with a detailed discussion of military campaigns carried out in the early phase of Aurangzeb's reign, narrating the events which led to the conquest of Palamau and suppression of revolts raised by the local *zamindars*. These successful expeditions established the might of the Mughal arms, and enhanced the prestige and power of the provincial government.

The Third Chapter contains a critical account of the *suba* of Bihar under the later Mughals, Nawab Alivardi Khan and Siraj-ud-daulah of Bengal as well as an analitical study of the growth and expansion of British influence in Bihar till 1765.

The Fourth Chapter is concerned with an exhaustive discussion on the working of local administrative structure with its overall ramifications during the reign of Aurangzeb and his successors. Various aspects of administration, like town, village and judicial etc. have been comprehensively analysed.

The Fifth Chapter examines the land-revenue administration with a detailed discussion on various aspects of agrarian problems etc. These problems are discussed in the perspective of changes and developments that took place in the times of Aurangzeb and his successors.

The Sixth Chapter delineates the economic conditions of Bihar during the period under review. It proves that medieval Bihar had emerged as an area of considerable industrial and commercial activities. The general features of its economy like, development of industries, trade and commerce, establishment of the European factories, growth of new manufacturing centres, have been fully analysed. An account of important natural resources - like mines and mineral has also been given. The period witnessed the rise of new urban centres where buildings were constructed and markets sprung. The Europeans were struck by the prosperity of Bihar, and allured by the prospects of profits and ultimately they set up in its different towns their factories. Patna, its capital city, had become the hub of brisk inland trade and vast storehouse where commodities from northern India were brought and stored for onward transport to the Bay of Bengal. Here the Ganges was navigable throughout the year and so it offered an important means of internal trade and commerce during the 17th to 18th centuries. The trade of saltpetre flourished greatly in this period which added to its economic importance in the international market as is evident from the accompanying map in the relevant chapter showing centre of saltpetre production in 1688 in Bihar.

The Seventh Chapter contains a detailed discussion of social and cultural life of the people of Bihar during the period covered. It examines some distinct facets of social, religious and traditional life of the common folk of Bihar. Such as, the

social classes, modes of life, dress and diet, habitation, social customs and ceremonies, festivals and fairs, religious life of both Hindus and Muslims, rise of sufism, and the Sikhs in Bihar, development of education and literature, and architecture etc. have been discussed at length.

The Eighth Chapter contains the conclusion, a brief summary of the subject-matter discussed at length in the above mentioned chapters. It also emphasises the importance and significance of the period under review.

The maps attached to the thesis are broadly based on the larger map of Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, (Sheet 10 A) and the boundary and administrative divisions of the region in 1707 are mainly based on information from *Dastur-al-Amal-Alamgiri* and *Kaghzat-i-Mutafarriqa*. Whereas political and economic maps of Mughal Bihar of 1595 have been reproduced from Irfan Habib's above cited *Atlas*. These have been prepared with utmost care and adequate research. They show not only the places of political importance but also main centres of trade and commerce.

Lastly, I have also included seven appendices, i.e. (a) Chronological framework of the Governors of Bihar under the Mughals (1658 to 1765). (b) Biographical sketches of some distinguished Governors of Bihar. (c) A complete list of the administrative divisions of *subah* Bihar with its *sarkars* and their respective *parganas* (mahals) which is based on Kaghzat-Mutafarriqa, British Museum, Add. 6586, pertaining to the last years of Aurangzeb's reign, and (d) A list of important *faujdars*, *Qiladars*, *Bakhshis* and *Diwans* of Bihar. (e) Maps of suba Bihar (Mughal Period)(f) Photocopies of some monument/inscriptions of Bihar (g) A list of *Sarais*

(inns) in Bihar under the Mughals.

SOURCES

The source material used in the preparation of this work falls broadly under three categories:-

(a) Original sources - contemporary or near contemporary Persian chronicles, and administrative manuals.

(b) Documentary material.

(c) Traveller's accounts, Factory records, District Gazetteers, Periodicals and Journals etc.

(a) The contemporary Persian chronicles form the most important source of our information for reconstructing the political history of Bihar under Aurangzeb and later Mughals. The most valuable contemporary chronicles are: *Alamgirnama*, by Munshi Mohammad Kazim. It is an official history of the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign when there was no prohibition against history-writing, and is based on state records and other papers. It is full of authentic details, and is a primary authority for the period with which it deals. It supplies a detailed account of the conquest of Palamau and the appointments and dismissals of various provincial officers in *subah* Bihar during the first decade of Aurangzeb's reign.

Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri by Saqi Mustaid Khan, it covers the whole period of Aurangzeb's reign. Besides the political events it furnishes valuable information with

respect to the administrative changes that took place in Bihar during the Aurangzeb's time.

The *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* by Mohammad Hashim Khafi Khan, is a general history of the Timurid dynasty, and gives a complete history of the reign of Aurangzeb. The author had served as an 'amil in the Deccan during the reign of Aurangzeb. The second volume of the book contains a full and connected account from the accession of Aurangzeb to the 14th regnal year of Mohammad Shah. The work acquires a greater importance for the appraisal of the later part of Aurangzeb's reign and his early successors. The author was a witness to the tottering political and social fabric and portrays vividly the gloomy picture of the misery of the soldiers and the poverty of small mansabdars, low salaried employees and other dependants on official patronages etc.

Ma'asir-ul-Umara, written by Shah Nawaz Khan, a dictionary of the Mughal peerage, which is a mine of information and immensely useful for details about the careers of nobles, governors and other officials associated with the *subah* Bihar. It is based on contemporary sources and was completed in 1780. Among modern works, M. Athar Ali's book entitled '*The Apparatus of Empire*, Awards of Ranks, offices and titles to the Mughal Nobility (1574 - 1658) is a very important and useful contribution which is a well referenced dictionary of Mughal nobles.

Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chaghtai by Muhammad Hadi Khan Kamwar, who had first served in the Deccan under Aurangzeb, and after his death accompanied Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri to Delhi where in the central government he held several posts. He got thus an unique opportunity of collecting his data for writing this

monumental work which is divided into two parts. The first deals with the Mughal history from the origin of the Mughals to the death of Jahangir, and the second part begins with the death of Jahangir and ends with the sixth regnal year of Muhammad Shah's reign. It is mainly a record of appointments, promotions and transfers of officials etc.

Nuskha-i-Dilkusha, Its author, Bhimsen, was mostly employed in the Deccan and was an eye-witness to many facts and incidents recorded by him during the reign of Aurangzeb. The work supplies important information about the campaigns and Mughal activities, and also sheds light on general economic conditions in the Deccan and the plight of the *jagirdars*. It also contains a few references about *subah* Bihar.

Among other contemporary chronicles, Ghulam Husain Salim's *Riyaz-us-Salatin* is a valuable work. The author completed this work in 1788 at the desire of his patron, George Udeny. It is a general history of Bengal from early Rajas to the British rule. It is useful for our purpose as it supplies scattered but valuable informations about the political and administrative aspects of Bihar as well during the period under review.

The second work under this category is *Tawarikh-i-Bengala* by Salimullah. The author wrote this work by the order of Henry Vansittart, governor of Bengal. It is a history of Bengal from 1696 to 1756 A.D. It is also useful as it contains references to the events that occured during the reign of Aurangzeb and later Mughals.

A very important work of 18th century is Syed Ghulam Husain's *Siyar-al-Mutaakherin*, a Review of Modern Times (English translation, Calcutta

reprint, 1902, vols. I-III). The original text (Persian) written in 1780 preserved presently in Khuda Bakhsh Library Patna has also been consulted. It is very valuable and informative contemporary chronicle dealing with the decay of the Mughal empire and witnessing the gradual fall of the Mughal dominion of India during the reigns of the later Mughals. He has produced an eye witness account of various momentous events on account of being very close to the court of the Nawab of Bengal.

Another work entitled Muzaffarnama written by Karam Ali (preserved in Khuda Bakhash Library Patna) has also been consulted. It is a detailed history of the province of Bengal from the time of Nawab Alivardi Khan to 1772. The author belonged to the family of the Nawabs of Murshidabad.

Sir J.N. Sarkar's book *Bengal Nawabs*, Calcutta, 1952 is full of use for our purpose as it contains English translation of (i) Azad al-Husaini's *Naubahar-i-Murshid Quli Khani* (ii) Karam Ali's *Muzaffarnama*, (iii) Yusuf Ali's *Ahwal-i-Mahabat - Jang*.

Besides *Ain-i-Akbari* which is the primary source of our informations, a number of administrative manuals were also composed during this period. The manuals are very valuable to understand the details of administrative transactions, procedure of appointments, functions and duties of officers, methods of assessment and modes of revenue collection. They contain tables and figures of the central revenue, the accounts of the provinces, *sarkars* and *mahals*, the distance between important towns, military statistics and so on. But they do not throw light on annual accounts of revenue collected and assessed in Bihar. But at the same time the information supplied by them is very useful for the study of the revenue administration in Bihar.

Dastur-ul-Amal Alamgiri, an anonymous work, it is an administrative manual compiled by the order of Aurangzeb in 1659. It contains models of revenue accounts and returns besides the description of duties and functions of revenue officials.

The *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* of Sujan Rai Bhandari written in 1695, it is a general history of India coming down to the Aurangzeb's reign. It is especially valuable for its description of India of Aurangzeb. It gives an economic description of the different states of India.

Kalyan Singh, son of Raja Shitab Roy (deputy governor of Bihar, 1765-73) has written a book entitled *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*. This work was completed in 1812 and supplies us some useful details in respect of the province of Bihar and Bengal.

The *Chahar Gulshan* by Rai Chaturman Kayasth (1759-60) is also useful for our purpose. It contained the statistical and topographical account of the provinces of the Mughal empire including Bihar. Both of the above works furnishes us a detail information of various nature about the *subah* of Bihar. Both works have been translated by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar in his 'India of Aurangzeb'.

Hidayatullah Bihari, a native of Bihar wrote a work entitled *Hidayat-ul-Qawaid* in 1715. It deals with the powers and functions of different officials of the Mughal government, the nature of the office work and its schedule and the day to day problems faced by every officials. The main significance of this work lies in the fact that it is an eye witnessed record of the administrative system in actual practice in the days of the author.

(b) Documentary material :-

Firstly, mention may be made to *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla*, which I have consulted from Sir J.N. Sarkar's collection preserved at National Library, Calcutta and its microfilm copy is also available at Research Library, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh. These *Akhbarat* provide us chronology of the recruitments, transfers and dismissals of a number of officers in the *subah* Bihar like its governors, *diwans*, *faujdars*, *Qaladars* etc. which are rarely found in the contemporary chronicles. It also gives some additional informations about the day-to-day developments and local uprisings or incidents which happened in the *subah* during the reign of Aurangzeb and his successors. Besides *Akhbarat*, a large number of administrative documents and papers shedding light on the agrarian and fiscal relations as well as land revenue administration pertaining to *suba* Bihar; which are preserved at National Archives of India, New Delhi and Bihar State Archives, Patna, have also been consulted.

Kaghzat-i-Mutafarriqa, a collection of contemporary miscellaneous documents, 1707 A.D. British Museum, Add.6586, it is an important document related to the revenue affairs of the Mughal empire during the last years of Aurangzeb's reign. It provide us a complete list of *sarkars* and *parganas* with their respective *Jamadami* of *subah* Bihar as well. It is extremely useful to get a detail statistical data of revenue settlement of the province.

A considerable number of inscriptions have also been referred in the seventh Chapter under Sub-topic 'Art and Architecture' which gives authenticity and validity to this theme. These inscriptions are mostly in Persian and largely based on Q. Ahmad's *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscription of Bihar*, A.H. 600-1200.

A large number of collections of letters have also been utilised in this work. These are : *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri* by Inayatullah Khan and Hamid-ud-Din Khan, including *Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri* etc. These furnishes us Aurangzeb's anecdotes and throws a flood of light on his and addressee's personality and character.

Maadan-ul-Insha by Chiranjiv Das, a rare collection of letters, it gives various information about *subah* Bihar during the period under review.

Subh-i-Sadiq by Mohammad Sadiq, a mine of information regarding the social, cultural and political life of India during the first half of the seventeenth century. The author has zealously devoted many pages to the discussions regarding the academic atmosphere of places like Jaunpur, Patna etc. Besides, he also gives a brief account of men of letters under whom he had either studied or whom he met in course of his travels.

Munshi Vinayak Prasad's *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainiya* (Urdu) in four volumes published in 1898 by Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow. It is a family account of the Rajas of Bhojpur, who played a significant role in the political history of Bihar under the Mughals. The Ujjainiya Rajputs were very famous for their valour and gallantry in fighting. They have been referred to the contemporary chronicles right from Akbar to later Mughals. Mughal officials who were posted in Bihar always kept a watchful eye on their activities.

Next work which comes under this category of family history of local chiefs is Munshi Mahadeo Lal Khazaanchi's *Tawarikhi-Kharagpur - Raj Darbhanga* printed in Mirat-ul-Hind Press Monghyr, 1884. It is a family account of the Rajas of Kharagpur (Sarkar Monghyr) who represented one of the important families of landed

aristocrats in Bihar. They are figured prominently in the context of the history of Bihar since the days of Akbar to the regime of Nawab Mir Qasim. This family had constructed several buildings about we have an authentic information. I have given their description in the Seventh Chapter of this work.

Ain-i-Tirhut (Urdu) written by Bihari Lal published by Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1884, is an important History of Tirhut. Its author held the post of *munshi* in the family of Darbhanga Raj. Primarily it deals with local history of the region but at the same time it includes a comprehensive list of Muslim families who come and settled at Darbhanga and its adjoining areas.

(c) Traveller's accounts, Factory Records, District Gazetteers, Periodicals and Journals etc.:-

The accounts of foreign travellers coupled with the English factory records including Select Committee Proceedings Vols. I-X (1756 - 65) constitute extremely valuable source of information for the appraisal and estimate of the politico economic conditions prevailing in Bihar during the period of our study. They throw considerable light not only on the nature and extent of trade and commerce carried in the region but also on the standards of living of the different classes of society.

Most important among them are as follows:-

1. John Marshall, (1668-72) *John Marshall in India, Notes and Observations in Bengal*, ed. S.A. Khan, London, 1927.

2. Francis Bernier, (1656-68) *Travels in Mughal Empire* ed. A. Constable, Oxford, 1914.

3. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, (1641-67) ed. V. Ball and W. Crooke, 2 Vols. London, 1925.

4. Niccolao Manucci (1653-1708) *Storia do Mogor*, 4 Vols. tr. William Irvine, London, 1907-8.

5. Thomas Bowrey (1669-79). *A Geographical Accounts of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. R.C. Temple, London, 1905.

6. Streynsham Master, *The Diaries of Streynsham Master* (1675-80), ed. R.C. Temple, 2 Vols. Indian Records Series, London, 1911.

7. Sir William Foster (ed.) *English Factories in India*, (1618-69) 13 Vols. Oxford, 1906-27.

In 1869 the British government decided to make a statistical survey of India and compile gazetteers of all the districts throughout the country. The main objective behind this grand plan was to gather and present a comprehensive data of geographical, historical, political, social, statistical and topographical information of villages and towns in every nook and corner of India. I have consulted the volumes of *'The Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers'*, which were published in between the years of 1924-26, *'Bengal District Gazetteers'* and W.W. Hunter's *'A Statistical Account of Bengal'* published in 1876-77 in twenty volumes. These works serve as mines of information for the study of geography, history, mineral resources, composition and character of society, characteristic features of various communities, their creeds, rites and ceremonials. They also deal with other social aspects of the life of the common masses like, health, occupations, education and educational institutions, and ancient

remains in a district such as, stupas, mounds, ruins, tombs, and mosques etc.

Francis Buchanan's Accounts of Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Bhagalpur and Purnia districts are also immensely fruitful for our purpose. On the basis of Francis Buchanan's survey reports, Montgomery Martin wrote *'Eastern India'* in five volumes which deals the history antiquities, topography and statistics of the region. Bengal and Madras Papers (Vols. I-III), and *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* (Vols.I-III) Government of India publications (Calcutta, 1911-28) are of immense value reconstructing the history of the region during the times of later Mughal emperors and the *Nawabs* of Bengal.

Besides these gazetteers and survey reports a number of journals and proceedings of different historical societies have also been consulted which are properly listed in the bibliography.

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E. Maps of *suba* Bihar (Mughal Period).
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INTRODUCTION

Until recently the study of medieval Bihar has not been seriously undertaken by scholars and historical research i n this crucial epoch of its history has not advanced further afield. However, the publication of second volume of *Comprehensive History of Bihar* dealing with medieval Bihar has filled in a great lacuna. But there is still need and scope of intensive studies on second half of 17th and first half of 18th century (upto 1765) because in works produced on the general history of Bihar the subject has been treated in fragments and briefly, providing no detailed information of changes and developments that took place over the centuries, from 1200 to 1765, in the politics, economy, and socio-cultural life of this important region of India. For example, *Bihar Through the Ages*, edited by R.R. Diwakar, contains a small section on the medieval history of Bihar, which is limited to a narration of bare facts regarding the rise and fall of different ruling dynasties. Other books, like History of Bihar by R.K. Chaudhary, and Tarikh-Magadh, by Maulvi Fasih-ud-Din Balkhi suffer from similar deficiencies and defects. Even Jadu Nath Sarkar did not apply himself to the task of reconstructing the history of Bihar under Aurangzeb, and his successors notwithstanding his immense contribution to the studies of other imperial provinces, Bengal and Orissa in the eastern India, during the seventeenth century. However, valuable works on the economic history of the period have been produced by distinguished writers, like W.H. Moreland, in *Agrarian System of Muslim India*, Irfan Habib, in *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, and *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, and Jagdish Narayan Sarkar in *Glimpses of Medieval Bihar Economy*. However, these are general studies on the economic history of India, not primarily

devoted to a detailed discussion on the agrarian problems in Bihar, such as, *zamindars* relations with *jagirdars* and peasants, nature and extent of agricultural produce, working of the land revenue administration at the local levels, and growing *jagirdari* crisis that was a striking feature of 17th and 18th centuries. Moreover, no attempt has been been made in these works to co-relate and link the analysis of economic themes with political and administrative issues faced by the empire. The information given in these works has been fully utilized in shaping the chapters on the land revenue administration, agrarian relations and system, and trade and commerce in the present study. The succint account of political and cultural history of Bihar in medieval period has been provided by S.H. Askari in his article, 'Bihar in the Time of Aurangzeb', and other learned articles on 17th - 18th century Bihar which have guided me in planning the framework of this thesis. Qeyamuddin Ahmad's books, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar, 600-1200 A.H.* and *Patna Through the Ages* are extremely useful for the study of social, cultural and architectural activities in Bihar during the medieval period

With a profuse addition of original material the Indo-Mughal historiography has undergone a tremendous reconstruction, both in methodology and conceptual frame, changing the dimensions of investigation and interpretation. But the themes are in general predominantly centred round the imperial court, in which the whole range of regional activities and making-up of social forces appear as a mere tail - piece. Scientific regional studies can alone broaden the horizon of our understanding about the nature and magnitude of strains and stresses arising in different areas which in the final stage delivered hammer strokes on the strongholds of the central power structure. To fill this gap in the latest historical researches of medieval period, an

humble attempt has been made in the present work by analysing in depth the history of Bihar from 1658 to 1765, in its political, administrative, economic and socio-cultural facets on the basis of newly discovered data, which also includes a number of transcripts of original documents preserved in the National Archives of India and Bihar State Archives Patna, prepared as a result of the extensive explorations made by the Regional Record Survey Committee, Bihar which has unearthed hitherto unknown documents.

Bihar occupied a strategically important position in the Mughal empire as it formed a connecting link between the upper Gangetic plains of northern India and the eastern land of Assam and Bengal. Rich in agricultural production and natural resources, inhabited by simple and industrious people, and ever flourishing in trade and commerce, Bihar was a prize possession which Akbar had wrested after hard struggle from the Afghans and organized it as vital part of his empire. It was, moreover, a centre of learning, and cradle of religious movements. The great Mughals kept the province under their firm hands and took keen interest in its political stability and economic progress. During the reign of Aurangzeb Bihar enjoyed comparative peace and tranquility as compared to his successors and remained free from any major uprisings the type of which were witnessed by other parts of the empire. The aim of this study is to examine the political conditions which largely contributed to the stability and integrity of the province in the period of turmoil and strife. The other questions which the study seeks to answer are related to the impact of agrarian crisis on the general economy of the region, the method and style of local functionaries, the extent of agricultural and horticultural production, the pattern of trade and commerce, and the development of society in all spheres of life.

The Scope of the study covers the following themes:

In the First Chapter an attempt has been made to trace out the various phases of the great political transition through which Bihar had passed during the pre-Mughal period, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, and analyse the changes effected in the socio-political structure of the region. Against this historical setting the survey of events focusses on the process of subjugation and annexation of Bihar by Akbar, the true architect of the Mughal empire. The conquered territory was re-organized and the local administrative machinery was rejuvenated to ensure the maintenance of uniform laws and regulations, and continuity of the Mughal rule.

The Second Chapter deals with a detailed discussion of military campaigns carried out in the early phase of Aurangzeb's reign, narrating the events which led to the conquest of Palamau and suppression of revolts raised by the local *zamindars*. These successful expeditions established the might of the Mughal arms, and enhanced the prestige and power of the provincial government.

The Third Chapter contains a critical account of the *suba* of Bihar under the later Mughals, Nawab Alivardi Khan and Siraj-ud-daulah of Bengal as well as an analitical study of the growth and expansion of British influence in Bihar till 1765.

The Fourth Chapter is concerned with an exhaustive discussion on the working of local administrative structure with its overall ramifications during the reign of Aurangzeb and his successors. Various aspects of administration, like town, village and judicial etc. have been comprehensively analysed.

The Fifth Chapter examines the land-revenue administration with a detailed discussion on various aspects of agrarian problems etc. These problems are discussed in the perspective of changes and developments that took place in the times of Aurangzeb and his successors.

The Sixth Chapter delineates the economic conditions of Bihar during the period under review. It proves that medieval Bihar had emerged as an area of considerable industrial and commercial activities. The general features of its economy like, development of industries, trade and commerce, establishment of the European factories, growth of new manufacturing centres, have been fully analysed. An account of important natural resources - like mines and mineral has also been given. The period witnessed the rise of new urban centres where buildings were constructed and markets sprung. The Europeans were struck by the prosperity of Bihar, and allured by the prospects of profits and ultimately they set up in its different towns their factories. Patna, its capital city, had become the hub of brisk inland trade and vast storehouse where commodities from northern India were brought and stored for onward transport to the Bay of Bengal. Here the Ganges was navigable throughout the year and so it offered an important means of internal trade and commerce during the 17th to 18th centuries. The trade of saltpetre flourished greatly in this period which added to its economic importance in the international market as is evident from the accompanying map in the relevant chapter showing centre of saltpetre production in 1688 in Bihar.

The Seventh Chapter contains a detailed discussion of social and cultural life of the people of Bihar during the period covered. It examines some distinct facets of social, religious and traditional life of the common folk of Bihar. Such as, the

social classes, modes of life, dress and diet, habitation, social customs and ceremonies, festivals and fairs, religious life of both Hindus and Muslims, rise of sufism, and the Sikhs in Bihar, development of education and literature, and architecture etc. have been discussed at length.

The Eighth Chapter contains the conclusion, a brief summary of the subject-matter discussed at length in the above mentioned chapters. It also emphasises the importance and significance of the period under review.

The maps attached to the thesis are broadly based on the larger map of Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, (Sheet 10 A) and the boundary and administrative divisions of the region in 1707 are mainly based on information from *Dastur-al-Amal-Alamgiri* and *Kaghzat-i-Mutafarriqa*. Whereas political and economic maps of Mughal Bihar of 1595 have been reproduced from Irfan Habib's above cited *Atlas*. These have been prepared with utmost care and adequate research. They show not only the places of political importance but also main centres of trade and commerce.

Lastly, I have also included seven appendices, i.e. (a) Chronological framework of the Governors of Bihar under the Mughals (1658 to 1765). (b) Biographical sketches of some distinguished Governors of Bihar. (c) A complete list of the administrative divisions of *subah* Bihar with its *sarkars* and their respective *parganas* (mahals) which is based on Kaghzat-Mutafarriqa, British Museum, Add. 6586, pertaining to the last years of Aurangzeb's reign, and (d) A list of important *faujdars*, *Qiladars*, *Bakhshis* and *Diwans* of Bihar. (e) Maps of suba Bihar (Mughal Period)(f) Photocopies of some monument/inscriptions of Bihar (g) A list of *Sarais*

(inns) in Bihar under the Mughals.

SOURCES

The source material used in the preparation of this work falls broadly under three categories:-

(a) Original sources - contemporary or near contemporary Persian chronicles, and administrative manuals.

(b) Documentary material.

(c) Traveller's accounts, Factory records, District Gazetteers, Periodicals and Journals etc.

(a) The contemporary Persian chronicles form the most important source of our information for reconstructing the political history of Bihar under Aurangzeb and later Mughals. The most valuable contemporary chronicles are: *Alamgirnama*, by Munshi Mohammad Kazim. It is an official history of the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign when there was no prohibition against history-writing, and is based on state records and other papers. It is full of authentic details, and is a primary authority for the period with which it deals. It supplies a detailed account of the conquest of Palamau and the appointments and dismissals of various provincial officers in *subah* Bihar during the first decade of Aurangzeb's reign.

Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri by Saqi Mustaid Khan, it covers the whole period of Aurangzeb's reign. Besides the political events it furnishes valuable information with

respect to the administrative changes that took place in Bihar during the Aurangzeb's time.

The *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* by Mohammad Hashim Khafi Khan, is a general history of the Timurid dynasty, and gives a complete history of the reign of Aurangzeb. The author had served as an 'amil in the Deccan during the reign of Aurangzeb. The second volume of the book contains a full and connected account from the accession of Aurangzeb to the 14th regnal year of Mohammad Shah. The work acquires a greater importance for the appraisal of the later part of Aurangzeb's reign and his early successors. The author was a witness to the tottering political and social fabric and portrays vividly the gloomy picture of the misery of the soldiers and the poverty of small mansabdars, low salaried employees and other dependants on official patronages etc.

Ma'asir-ul-Umara, written by Shah Nawaz Khan, a dictionary of the Mughal peerage, which is a mine of information and immensely useful for details about the careers of nobles, governors and other officials associated with the *subah* Bihar. It is based on contemporary sources and was completed in 1780. Among modern works, M. Athar Ali's book entitled '*The Apparatus of Empire*, Awards of Ranks, offices and titles to the Mughal Nobility (1574 - 1658) is a very important and useful contribution which is a well referenced dictionary of Mughal nobles.

Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chaghtai by Muhammad Hadi Khan Kamwar, who had first served in the Deccan under Aurangzeb, and after his death accompanied Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri to Delhi where in the central government he held several posts. He got thus an unique opportunity of collecting his data for writing this

monumental work which is divided into two parts. The first deals with the Mughal history from the origin of the Mughals to the death of Jahangir, and the second part begins with the death of Jahangir and ends with the sixth regnal year of Muhammad Shah's reign. It is mainly a record of appointments, promotions and transfers of officials etc.

Nuskha-i-Dilkusha, Its author, Bhimsen, was mostly employed in the Deccan and was an eye-witness to many facts and incidents recorded by him during the reign of Aurangzeb. The work supplies important information about the campaigns and Mughal activities, and also sheds light on general economic conditions in the Deccan and the plight of the *jagirdars*. It also contains a few references about *subah* Bihar.

Among other contemporary chronicles, Ghulam Husain Salim's *Riyaz-us-Salatin* is a valuable work. The author completed this work in 1788 at the desire of his patron, George Udeny. It is a general history of Bengal from early Rajas to the British rule. It is useful for our purpose as it supplies scattered but valuable informations about the political and administrative aspects of Bihar as well during the period under review.

The second work under this category is *Tawarikh-i-Bengala* by Salimullah. The author wrote this work by the order of Henry Vansittart, governor of Bengal. It is a history of Bengal from 1696 to 1756 A.D. It is also useful as it contains references to the events that occured during the reign of Aurangzeb and later Mughals.

A very important work of 18th century is Syed Ghulam Husain's *Siyar-al-Mutaakherin*, a Review of Modern Times (English translation, Calcutta

reprint, 1902, vols. I-III). The original text (Persian) written in 1780 preserved presently in Khuda Bakhsh Library Patna has also been consulted. It is very valuable and informative contemporary chronicle dealing with the decay of the Mughal empire and witnessing the gradual fall of the Mughal dominion of India during the reigns of the later Mughals. He has produced an eye witness account of various momentous events on account of being very close to the court of the Nawab of Bengal.

Another work entitled Muzaffarnama written by Karam Ali (preserved in Khuda Bakhash Library Patna) has also been consulted. It is a detailed history of the province of Bengal from the time of Nawab Alivardi Khan to 1772. The author belonged to the family of the Nawabs of Murshidabad.

Sir J.N. Sarkar's book *Bengal Nawabs*, Calcutta, 1952 is full of use for our purpose as it contains English translation of (i) Azad al-Husaini's *Naubahar-i-Murshid Quli Khani* (ii) Karam Ali's *Muzaffarnama*, (iii) Yusuf Ali's *Ahwal-i-Mahabat - Jang*.

Besides *Ain-i-Akbari* which is the primary source of our informations, a number of administrative manuals were also composed during this period. The manuals are very valuable to understand the details of administrative transactions, procedure of appointments, functions and duties of officers, methods of assessment and modes of revenue collection. They contain tables and figures of the central revenue, the accounts of the provinces, *sarkars* and *mahals*, the distance between important towns, military statistics and so on. But they do not throw light on annual accounts of revenue collected and assessed in Bihar. But at the same time the information supplied by them is very useful for the study of the revenue administration in Bihar.

Dastur-ul-Amal Alamgiri, an anonymous work, it is an administrative manual compiled by the order of Aurangzeb in 1659. It contains models of revenue accounts and returns besides the description of duties and functions of revenue officials.

The *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* of Sujan Rai Bhandari written in 1695, it is a general history of India coming down to the Aurangzeb's reign. It is especially valuable for its description of India of Aurangzeb. It gives an economic description of the different states of India.

Kalyan Singh, son of Raja Shitab Roy (deputy governor of Bihar, 1765-73) has written a book entitled *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*. This work was completed in 1812 and supplies us some useful details in respect of the province of Bihar and Bengal.

The *Chahar Gulshan* by Rai Chaturman Kayasth (1759-60) is also useful for our purpose. It contained the statistical and topographical account of the provinces of the Mughal empire including Bihar. Both of the above works furnishes us a detail information of various nature about the *subah* of Bihar. Both works have been translated by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar in his 'India of Aurangzeb'.

Hidayatullah Bihari, a native of Bihar wrote a work entitled *Hidayat-ul-Qawaid* in 1715. It deals with the powers and functions of different officials of the Mughal government, the nature of the office work and its schedule and the day to day problems faced by every officials. The main significance of this work lies in the fact that it is an eye witnessed record of the administrative system in actual practice in the days of the author.

(b) Documentary material :-

Firstly, mention may be made to *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla*, which I have consulted from Sir J.N. Sarkar's collection preserved at National Library, Calcutta and its microfilm copy is also available at Research Library, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh. These *Akhbarat* provide us chronology of the recruitments, transfers and dismissals of a number of officers in the *subah* Bihar like its governors, *diwans*, *faujdars*, *Qaladars* etc. which are rarely found in the contemporary chronicles. It also gives some additional informations about the day-to-day developments and local uprisings or incidents which happened in the *subah* during the reign of Aurangzeb and his successors. Besides *Akhbarat*, a large number of administrative documents and papers shedding light on the agrarian and fiscal relations as well as land revenue administration pertaining to *suba* Bihar; which are preserved at National Archives of India, New Delhi and Bihar State Archives, Patna, have also been consulted.

Kaghzat-i-Mutafarriqa, a collection of contemporary miscellaneous documents, 1707 A.D. British Museum, Add.6586, it is an important document related to the revenue affairs of the Mughal empire during the last years of Aurangzeb's reign. It provide us a complete list of *sarkars* and *parganas* with their respective *Jamadami* of *subah* Bihar as well. It is extremely useful to get a detail statistical data of revenue settlement of the province.

A considerable number of inscriptions have also been referred in the seventh Chapter under Sub-topic 'Art and Architecture' which gives authenticity and validity to this theme. These inscriptions are mostly in Persian and largely based on Q. Ahmad's *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscription of Bihar*, A.H. 600-1200.

A large number of collections of letters have also been utilised in this work. These are : *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri* by Inayatullah Khan and Hamid-ud-Din Khan, including *Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri* etc. These furnishes us Aurangzeb's anecdotes and throws a flood of light on his and addressee's personality and character.

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Next work which comes under this category of family history of local chiefs is Munshi Mahadeo Lal Khazaanchi's *Tawarikhi-Kharagpur - Raj Darbhanga* printed in Mirat-ul-Hind Press Monghyr, 1884. It is a family account of the Rajas of Kharagpur (Sarkar Monghyr) who represented one of the important families of landed

aristocrats in Bihar. They are figured prominently in the context of the history of Bihar since the days of Akbar to the regime of Nawab Mir Qasim. This family had constructed several buildings about we have an authentic information. I have given their description in the Seventh Chapter of this work.

Ain-i-Tirhut (Urdu) written by Bihari Lal published by Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1884, is an important History of Tirhut. Its author held the post of *munshi* in the family of Darbhanga Raj. Primarily it deals with local history of the region but at the same time it includes a comprehensive list of Muslim families who come and settled at Darbhanga and its adjoining areas.

(c) Traveller's accounts, Factory Records, District Gazetteers, Periodicals and Journals etc.:-

The accounts of foreign travellers coupled with the English factory records including Select Committee Proceedings Vols. I-X (1756 - 65) constitute extremely valuable source of information for the appraisal and estimate of the politico economic conditions prevailing in Bihar during the period of our study. They throw considerable light not only on the nature and extent of trade and commerce carried in the region but also on the standards of living of the different classes of society.

Most important among them are as follows:-

1. John Marshall, (1668-72) *John Marshall in India, Notes and Observations in Bengal*, ed. S.A. Khan, London, 1927.

2. Francis Bernier, (1656-68) *Travels in Mughal Empire* ed. A. Constable, Oxford, 1914.

3. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, (1641-67) ed. V. Ball and W. Crooke, 2 Vols. London, 1925.

4. Niccolao Manucci (1653-1708) *Storia do Mogor*, 4 Vols. tr. William Irvine, London, 1907-8.

5. Thomas Bowrey (1669-79). *A Geographical Accounts of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. R.C. Temple, London, 1905.

6. Streynsham Master, *The Diaries of Streynsham Master* (1675-80), ed. R.C. Temple, 2 Vols. Indian Records Series, London, 1911.

7. Sir William Foster (ed.) *English Factories in India*, (1618-69) 13 Vols. Oxford, 1906-27.

In 1869 the British government decided to make a statistical survey of India and compile gazetteers of all the districts throughout the country. The main objective behind this grand plan was to gather and present a comprehensive data of geographical, historical, political, social, statistical and topographical information of villages and towns in every nook and corner of India. I have consulted the volumes of *'The Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers'*, which were published in between the years of 1924-26, *'Bengal District Gazetteers'* and W.W. Hunter's *'A Statistical Account of Bengal'* published in 1876-77 in twenty volumes. These works serve as mines of information for the study of geography, history, mineral resources, composition and character of society, characteristic features of various communities, their creeds, rites and ceremonials. They also deal with other social aspects of the life of the common masses like, health, occupations, education and educational institutions, and ancient

remains in a district such as, stupas, mounds, ruins, tombs, and mosques etc.

Francis Buchanan's Accounts of Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Bhagalpur and Purnia districts are also immensely fruitful for our purpose. On the basis of Francis Buchanan's survey reports, Montgomery Martin wrote *'Eastern India'* in five volumes which deals the history antiquities, topography and statistics of the region. Bengal and Madras Papers (Vols. I-III), and *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* (Vols.I-III) Government of India publications (Calcutta, 1911-28) are of immense value reconstructing the history of the region during the times of later Mughal emperors and the *Nawabs* of Bengal.

Besides these gazetteers and survey reports a number of journals and proceedings of different historical societies have also been consulted which are properly listed in the bibliography.

CHAPTER - I

BIHAR DURING THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD 1200 - 1658 A.D.

The province of Bhihar, which forms a connecting link between the upper Gangetic plains of northern India and the eastern land of Assam and Bengal, had been in ancient times the centre of a splendid culture and civilization whose relics, widely scattered in its towns, cities and villages, bear a living testimony to the past glories of Hindu political powers and its systems of religious thought and worship, including Buddhism and Jainism. Undoubtedly, this part of the country had attained a position of central importance, for the lights of knowledge, faith and arts, kindled by scientists, poets, philosophers, sages and architects, continued to illuminate the whole landscape of India for centuries together. This cultural and intellectual dominance of Bihar, however, suffered a setback in the 13th century when Turkish cavalry under Bakhtiyar Khilji burst on it in search of land and loot, exposing its vast and rich tracts to numerous foreign military adventurers. The Muslim settlements which gradually sprang up on its wide and fertile plains added new dimensions to the socio-economic structure of society in Bihar. Later, it witnessed the bitter struggle between the Afghan and Mughal hordes for supermacy, abated for a shortwhile, and ultimately ending in the establishment of Mughal sovereignty under Akbar. Significantly, its famous city of Buxar, that had supplied mercenaries and musketeers to the imperial armies of Delhi as well as the troops of Indian chieftains throughout the Mughal period, was the scene of a decisive battle between the Indian and British forces, and the resounding success of the latter that finally sealed the fate of the Indian independence for nearly two centuries.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to trace the various phases of the great political transition through which Bihar had passed during Pre-Mughal period, from the thirteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, and examine the purpose, direction and magnitude of conflicts and upheavals attending it. Against this broadly set background the analysis of events and developments concentrates on the process of the complete subjugation of Bihar by Akbar, and its gradual transformation into a well-organized administrative unit directly controlled by the central authority. The establishment of Mughal paramountcy signified more than a dynastic change in the power-structure that was operating in Bihar since the advent of the Turks. It provided stability and tranquality to the region, it imparted uniformity of rules and laws to the local administration and created an atmosphere of cooperation and co-existence among diverse elements of the society.

The area called by the Mughal chroniclers *subah* Bihar was incorporated into Akbar's dominion between 1576 and 1582 A.D. and become prominent as per recommended by Raja Todar Mal, *Diwan-i-Ashraf* of the Mughal Government[1]. Before 1203 the term 'Bihar' did not denote an area with precisely known political and administrative boundaries. It seems therefore, necessary to define historically what the Mughal understood by subah Bihar both before and during Aurangzeb's time.

The Kingdom of Videha, Magadha and Anga ancient names of important parts of modern Bihar find mention in the great epic Mahabharata, Valmiki's Ramayana and in the epigraphic records of the Mauryas and the Guptas.

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1. Abul Fazal, *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bibliotheca Indica) Volume I, pp. 418-23.

In the Mahabharata we find that Videha is a country, with its capital at Mithila which has been identified with Janakapur, a small town within the Nepal border[1]. The Lichchavi's capital was at Vaishali which is represented by modern Basarh (in the east of the Gandak) in the modern Vaishali (Hajipur) district of North Bihar.

Magadha, the central core of Bihar embraces the modern districts of Patna and Gaya in the sourthern part of Bihar. It was bounded on the north and the west by the rivers Ganges and Son on the south by the spurs of the Vindhyas and on the east by the river Champa. According to Mahabharata, its earliest capital was 'Grivaraja' (Rajagriha) near modern Rajgir[2].

As described in the Mahabharata, Anga comprised the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr of south Bihar. The river Champa (probably modern chandan) formed the boundary between Anga in the east and Magadha in the west. It was bounded by the Ganga on the north with its capital at Champa, formerly known as Malini, stood on the right bank of the Ganga and was at a distance of sixty yojanas from Mithila. According to Cunningham the modern villages called Champanagar and Champapura near Bhagalpur represents the site of the ancient city of Champa[3].

In ancient times, the greatness of Magadha, Mithila, Lichchavis of Vaishali and one of the world's great rulers, the Emperor Ashoka, a Mauryan, can not be

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1. Hemchandra Roychaudhary, *Political History of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1953, pp.118-19.
2. *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 110-11.
3. *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 106-7.

overlooked. It was the scene of the life's work of the most venerated names in two of the world's great religions Gautam Buddha, the founder of Buddhism and Vardhamna Mahavira, the founder of Jainism. Its shrines and relics of the past include the great temple of Bodh Gaya, the ancient monastery and University of Nalanda, the cyclopean walls of old Rajgir of unknown antiquity, and the remains of Pataliputra, Vaishali and other famous cities of the ancient world. Among the many sites and buildings venerated by Muslim rulers are the splendid tombs of Shaikh Yahia Maneri and Makhdum Shah Daulat at Maner (near Patna), and Malik Ibrahim Bayyu and Makhdum Shah Sharf'ud-Din at Bihar Sharif, while in Sasaram, there is one of the grandest specimens of Pathan architecture in India, the mausoleum of Sher Shah Suri[1]. One of the sacred places of the Sikhs in the birth place of Guru Govind Singh in Azimabad (Patna). The fine Roman Catholic Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in Patna city, one of the oldest Christian churches in India. These radiated for centuries not only to all parts of India but also to distant regions of Asia, religion, philosophy, arts and all that stands for culture and civilized life. In the history of Indian National Movement too, we find that modern Bihar has responded splendidly to the call of Mahatma Gandhi. It would not bean exaggeration to conclude that for centuries the history of India was but the history of Bihar 'writ large'.

1. Foundation of Turkish Rule in Bihar

In the northeastern India, the Palas established the strongest empire after the Guptas. Gopala, the founder of the Pala dynasty, exercised control over Magadha

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1. For a full architectural description see: M.H. Kuraishi, *List of Ancient Monuments in the Province of Bihar and Orissa*. Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Calcutta, 1931.

and Mithila areas. But we find that under his successors, Kumarapala (1126-30 A.D.) and Madanapala (1130-50 A.D.), the Pala Empire dwindled in size.

In Magadha region, their power was circumscribed by the Independent principality of Yakshapala at Gaya, a former Vassal of Rampala[1]. Another independent dynasty called themselves Pithipatis, ruled over parts of Gaya and Hazaribagh districts[2]. During this period, the Gujara - Pratiharas began to raise their heads and probably occupied some regions of Magadha and Mithila.

From about the middle of the twelfth century the Sena Kings gradually encroached on the territories of the Palas and eventually ousted them from Mithila and Magadha areas. Vijayasena (1097 - 1159 A.D.) the first king of the Sena dynasty seized Nanyadeva of Mithila (north Bihar) and occupied the same[3]. Vallal Sena (1159 - 1170 A.D.) while his son Lakshmana Sena, the 'Rai Lakhmania' of the Persian chronicles (1170 - 1206) not only maintained their hold over Mithila but also appeared to have advanced West-wards[4]. The Palas and Senas gradually disappeared from the scene, whose position of power and influence was in consequence acquired by Gahadavalas, especially in the areas of the Buddhist monastery (*Vihara*) town of Uddandapur (Odantapuri), where the foundation of the Turkish power in Bihar was laid down.

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1. *Indian Antiquary,* Vol.XVI, Bombay, 1887, pp. 63-66.
2. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 259-60.
3. R.K. Choudhary, 'The Karnatas of Mithila, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, Vol. XXXV, pp.92-98.
4. H.C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol.I Calcutta, 1931, p.368

However, in 1202 - 3 A.D.[1] towards the end of the Gahadavalas rule in Magadha, the Khalji chief, Bakhtiyar Khalji made incursions into the territory of Maner and by 1204 Khalji arms had penetrated it. He even pushed as far as Uddandapur 'Vihar', the monastic University town gave its name the country bound and came to be known as Vihar or Bihar[2].

Minhaj-us Siraj, author of *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* states that he in 1243 A.D. met at Lakhauti one Samsamuddin, who had been in the service of Bakhtiyar Khalji. This man gave a detailed information about Bakhtiyar's exploits in Bihar and Bengal and the circumstances leading to his tragic death. He reported that Bakhtiyar had attacked Bihar 'Suddenly' and with only two hundred horsemen in defensive armour. He threw himself into the postern gate of the palace and captured the fortress (*hisar* and *qalah*) of Bihar[3]. According to Taranath, a 15th century Tibetan chronicler, Bakhtiyar also captured at this time the monastery-towns of Vikramshila and Nalanda and erected a fortress on the site of Uddandapur[4]. A Buddhist tradition tells us that in 1200 A.D. famous scholar saint, sakya Sribhadra of Kashmir, visited Uddandapur and the Vikramshila monastery but found them in ruins[5].

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1. Fakhr-e-Mudabbir, *Tarikh-i-Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah*, ed. E.d. Ross, London, 1927, p.25. For a detailed discussion see: Aziz Ahmad, *Political History and Institutions of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi*, 1206 - 90, pp. 109 - 10. A.B.M. Habibullah, *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, p.70
2. Minhaj-us-Siraj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, (Bib. Ind.) p.147.
3. *Tabaqati-Nasiri*, p.148
4. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV, 1875, Bombay, pp. 366-67.
5. S.C. Das, Antiquity of Chittagong, *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1898, p.25.

As described by the author of *Riaz-us-Salatin* Bakhtiyar consolidated his position in Bihar by establishing military outposts and by introducing military arrangements[1]. He had no siege - train for capturing strong Hindu forts, nor was it his policy to provoke any wide spread reaction in the country. His main object was to secure the maximum of booty with minimum risk of blood-shed. So he confined himself to scouring the open country, undefended by the field army of any organized state[2].

2. Bihar Under Delhi Sultans

A year after his success in Bihar i.e. about 1204-5 Bakhtiyar set out swiftly on his second adventure i n the Ganges Valley towards Nadia and suddenly attacked on Lakshaman Sena's Kingdom at Nadia, or as Minhaj calls it 'Nodia[3]'. Keeping in view, both political and geopolitical considerations, he selected Lakhauti[4], to the seat of his base in Bihar. Bakhtiyar was murdered by one of his own lieutenant, named Ali Mardan[5]. The death of Bakhtiyar was followed by a struggle for powers between the military iqta holders of the Khalji oligarchy. Qutub-ud-Din Aibek mainly occupied with affairs of Punjab and Ghazni, could not pay attention to the deteriorating situation in Bihar. In the civil war among the military generals. Malik Izz-ud-Din Muhammad Shiran defeated and imprisoned his rival, Ali Mardan[6]. But Ali Mardan escaped from

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1. Ghulam Husain Salim, *Riaz-us-Salatin*, p.62.
2. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Bengal*, Vol II, p.3.
3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 150-51.
4. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XII, p.18. Lakshmanavati, the City founded by or renamed by Lakshmana Sena, the western capital of the Senas near the present site of Gour in Maldah district of West Bengal.
5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p.157.
6. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p.158.

the custody, went to Delhi and induced Sultan Qutub-ud-Din to despatch a punitive expedition under the command of Qaemaz Rumi against the refractory Khalji Amirs. But Malik Shiran was defeated and Husamuddin Iwaz, one of the Khalji chief assumed charged of Bihar and Bengal at the end of 1207. Nevertheless Ali Mardan managed to secure viceroyalty of the region for himself[1]. Evidently, it was a period of 'dyanastic troubles and rebellions' not only for the Delhi Sultanat but also for the principality of Lakhnauti.

Sultan Qutub-ud-Din Aibek died in 1210 and was succeeded by Aram Shah but within a few months, the latter was defeatd by Iltutmish[2]. Ali Mardan after the death of Sultan Qutub-ud-Din asserted independence, under the title of Sultan Alauddin and issued coins in his name[3]. But his cruelty and vindictiveness soon caused discontent among the Khaljis who revolted and put his two years unpopular regime to an end[4]. The new Governor Husamuddin Iwaz, maintained his relations with the central Government, but soon after severed them and assumed independence in 1211 by adopting the title of Ghiyas-ud-Din[5]. As his independent rule was acquiesced in by the Sultan of Delhi who was at that time engaged in suppressing his rivals in northwest of his Kingdom, Husamuddin boldly led successive raids into Bihar and annexed it without confronting any strong resistance. His occupation of Bhagalpur made him master of highway that passed through it from Delhi to Lakhnauti[6]. He even extorted tribute from neighbouring chiefs and *Zamindars* of

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p.159.
2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p.141
3. *Taqbaqat-i-Nasiri, p.159-60.*
4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p.160.*
5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p.161.
6. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p.159.

Jajnagar, Tirhut, Bang and Kamrup[1]. But his glory has shortlived, and his power declined sooner than was expected. Sultan Iltutmish, after consolidating his position in Delhi, and tiding over the Mangol threat turned his attention to the suppression of his rebel in the east. Minhaj-us-Siraj says that the Sultan had an previous occasions sent forces from his capital towards Lakhnauti, before he could himself proceed in person in 1225 with an imperial army, occupied all the districts of Bihar, south of Ganges and instlled his own officers there[2]. Unable to force the formidable army under the command of a redoubtable opponent, Husamuddin submitted, and acknowledged the suzerainty of Iltutmish. He agreed to pay a heavy indemnity to the Sultan[3]. He also relinquished his claim on Bihar, and Malik Jani was appointed new Governor by Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish[4].

Thus, his twelve years rule, marked by turbulence and warfare, terminated in this tragic manner. Bihar passed under the direct control of the central Government. It was placed by Iltutmish under the charge of Nasiruddin Mahmud who continued to hold Awadh, too, simultaneously. The governor looked upon the Sultan as the primary source of his authority, and exercised his functions under the superintendence of the monarch in Delhi though enjoying a great latitude of action in the internal administration of the area. But his untimely death removed all the barriers that had hitherto kept disruptive forces in check, and the province again plunged into confusion and lawlessness.

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1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p.163.
2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p.163. Hasan Nizami, *Tajul Maa-Sir*, p.241.
3. Riyaz-us-Salatin, p.72, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp.163, 171
4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p.189.

These appointments shows that Iltutmish had planned to detach Bihar from Bengal and constitute it as a separate province of his empire. It is significant that in the list of conquered territories, Minhaj has included Tirhut and Darbhanga, beside Bihar. But all these political and administrative arrangements made by Iltutmish in Bihar were completely upset after his departure to Delhi. Husamuddin Iwaz again mustered his scattered forces, and with their help raided Bihar and drove Malik Jani out of Bihar. This, the King considered a mortal blow to his prestige and power. On the receipt of information, he directed his son, Nasiruddin Mahmud, governor of Awadh, to march on the contumacious noble and inflict on him an exemplary punishment. Nasiruddin Mahmud accordingly appeared with a vast force on the scene, and engaged the foe in a pitched battle[1]. Husamuddin Iwaz displayed his feats of valour in the fighting that raged in all its severity, but in the end perished and his hordes fled away. Nasiruddin Mahmud ruled the province as his father's deputy until his death, which opened the way for fresh troubles[2].

The family members of the late governor had not reconciled to the new political set up in Bihar, and seemed resolved not only to revenge the death of their leader but also regain possession of the area so recently lost to the Delhi empire. One of them, Balka Khalji, suddenly rose in arms and swept over the whole of the province, exasperating Iltutmish, by his acts of violence and oppression, to march in person and take field against him[3]. In the swift and sharp contest fought on 8 November, 1230 between the rival forces Balka was defeated and slain[4]. Bihar was again made

1. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p.164.
2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 162-64.
3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 181.
4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p.174.

the integral part of the empire. Malik Saifuddin Aibek was appointed its Governor who continued to administer it until Sultan Raziya, daughter and successor of Iltutmish, transferred him to Lakhnauti[1].

The new governor of Bihar, Malik Tughril-i-Tughan, was a strong willed and ambitious military general. At present faction-feuds and tensions at the court of Delhi had deepened in a serious crisis and the reigning Sultan was unable to tide it over the limited resources at her command. This confused state of affairs at the centre led the ambition of Tughril to establish his complete independence from the monarch in the region separated by a long distance from Delhi. The death of Malik Saifuddin, governor of Lakhnauti offered an opportunity to Tughril to proceed into his plans of breaking from the centre and founding a new and strong kingdom in this far-flung part of the country. Tughril fearlessly advanced with his army and occupied Lakhnauti. He now both the provinces, Bihar and Bengal, under his hegemony, and organised the whole region into one united *subah*. He was tactful enough to secure legal recognition to his usurpation from the centre through diplomatic means[2].

The easy success of Tughril proved beyond doubt that the power of the central government had reduced to such a low ebb that it could not assume offensive to handle the dangerous situation in the far east arising out of a military revolt. Throughout this period the success of a military adventurer in Bihar and Bengal as well as the efficacy of his rule over this vast area depended on the fluctuating political condition in Delhi. Secure from the hostility of the King at Delhi, Tughril consolidated

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1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p.231, 242.
2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p.187.

his position and augmented his resources by subduing the rebellious war - hordes and barons in the distracted provinces of Bihar and Bengal. His rule of nine years, 1236-1245, was strong and stable, undisturbed either by external menace or local disturbances. Minhaj-us-Siraj, our main reliable authority on the contemporary history, visited Lakhnauti lived in the company of Tughril, and was highly impressed by his character and personality. He writes:

> "Tughril was adorned with all sorts of humanity and sagacity; and grace with many virtues and noble qualities, and in liberally, generosity and power of winning men's heart he had no equal[1]."

According to Sarkar, Tughril led ceaseless raids i nto Tirhut which yielded him rich booty but no, submission[2].

However his successful rule in Bihar is also corroborated by an earliest extant inscription at Bihar Sharif[3]. It records the construction of a building during the governorship of Izzudin Tughril by Mubarak Khan, the treasurer in the month of Moharram 640, July 1242. The translation of the text enjoins as follows:

1. This building was ordered to be erected during the days (reign) of the Majlisul-Ali, the gret Khan the exalted Khaqan,

2. 'Izzu'l Haq Wa'ddin (the glory of the Truth and Faith), the succour

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1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Tr. by H.G. Raverty, Calcutta, 1897, p.736.
2. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Bengal,* Vol.II p.46.
3. H. Blochman, The Tughril Inscription of Bihar, *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. XIII, 1873, pp.245-46. Cf. Qeyamuddin Ahmad (Hereafter Q. Ahmad), *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar,* (640-1200 A.H.) Patna, 1973, pp. 4-5.

of Islam and the Muslims, the helper of Kings and monarchs, Abdul Fath Tughril,

3. The royal (slave), may Allah perpetuate his Kingdom; (by) the slave Mubarak, the treasurer, may Allah accept his prayers, in the month of Moharram of the year 640, July 1242.

Balban occupied the throne on 10 June 1246[1]. It was after two expeditions conducted within a period of eight years that the Khalji Chiefs in Bengal could be over thrown and brought to submission. Thus, during the reign of Balban, Tamar Khan sent to take change of the provinces of Bihar and Bengal[2]. He was replaced by Yuzbak-i-Tughril Khan governor of Lakhnauti who held Bihar as well[3]. but in due course, Yuzbak declared himself independent, assumed the regal title of Sultan Maghisuddin and struck coins in his name, dated 653/1255[4]. Later, a coin minted at Lakhnauti was issued in the name of Mahmud[5], which provides a clear proof of the re-establishment of the Sultan of Delhi. The viceroy designate was Masud Jani in 1258[6]. In 1260 Arsalan Khan defeated Yuzbeks and occupied the area of Bihar and Bengal but he never acknowledged the suzerainty of Delhi Sultanate[7]. An incription[8] in mahalla Baradari at Bihar Sharif, dated 665/1266-67 informs of the erection of a

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1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 280.
2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 244-46.
3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp.212, 262.
4. Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,* Vol. II, p.146, No.61.
5. *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum,* Vol.II, p.55, No.225 C.
6. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp.225-26.
7. Ziauddin Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, (Bib. Ind.) p.66.
8. Q. Ahmad, op. Cit., pp.6-9.

tomb of Arsalan Khan under the orders of his son and successor Tatar Khan. This inscription reveals that after the death of Arsalan Khan, his son Tatar Khan succeeded him as Governor of Bihar, who built his mausoleum. It is an evidence of his independent status. His despatch of an envoy to Balban in 1266, with present including sixty elephants, as a diplomatic mission forms the idea of an independent ruler[1]. It may, however, also be concluded that Tatar Khan, though practically independent, thought it prudent, like Tughril before him, to keep the Delhi Sultan pleased and in good humour.

So, it will be seen that hostile elements were every where very active in opposition to the rule of the Delhi government in Bihar. The intrepid defiance of the chiefs of this region had been a constant source of trouble to the Delhi authorities and even strong rulers like Balban had to launch military campaings for the restoration of their authority in the region.

However, in 1280-81 Balban led expeditions against Lakhnauti and made separate arrangements for the administration of Bihar under his second son Bughra Khan and the latter seems to be ruled upto 1287[2]. Bughra Khan was replaced by Sultan Ruknuddin Kaikaus of Bengal. He was acknowledged as the sovereign of Bengal and portion of north Bihar.

His rule is corroborated by two important inscriptions, which has been discovered in Bihar, one from Begusarai dated 16 January 1293[3] and the second one

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1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p.53.
2. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, pp.88-90
3. R.K. Chaudhary, An Inscription dated 692/1293 from Begusarai, *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,* Poona Vol.XXVI, 1955, pp.166.

from Lakhisarai (Monghyr) dated 21 August, 1297[1]. The former records the construction of a strong fort in the reign of Kaikaus Shah, son of Sultan, by the Firuz Aetigin, the Governor of Bihar and the latter one records the construction of a Jami' Mosque in the reign of Ruknuddin Kaikaus Shah and during the governorship and deputy governorship of Firuz Aetigin and Ulugh Khan, respectively. The two epigraphs taken together are very valuable from several points of view. They belong to a king to whose reign the contemporary chronicles do not refer. The evidence shows that his fairly successful rule of nearly ten years (1288-1298), included parts of Bengal and Bihar. During his rule the Kingdom of Bengal seemed to have been split up into four major territorial divisions, viz, Devkot, Bang, Satgam and Bihar. The fourth division was governed by Firuz Aetigin, perhaps the most powerful military leader in the whole region.

It is significance to note that Firuz Aetigin was a contemporary of the great Khalji ruler, Alauddin Khalji. The absence of any Khalji inscription in Bihar as well as the high sounding titles adopted by Firuz Aetigin, including Alexander second, the very title used by Alauddin Khalji, indicates that although the Khalji imperialism encompassed north, west and south India, the eastern region lay outside it. The Begusarai fort inscription show the expansion and consolidation of Firuz's domination in the north Bihar.

So the above evidences tends to suggests that Bihar and Bengal under the Khalji Sultans were virtually independent of the centre.

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1. H. Blochmann, Notes on the Inscription dated 697 from Lakhisarai (Monghyr), *J.A.S.B.* Vol. XIII, 1873, pp.247-48. Cf. Q. Ahmad, op. cit., pp.11-12.

Through Bihar the imperial troops passed once again towards Bengal to suppress a revolt under the command of Ghyasuddin Tughlaq, the founder of the Tughlaq dynasty and a veteran general. Thus, Sultan Ghyasuddin Tughlaq marched from Delhi in the year 1324-25, and passing through Bihar reached Lakhnauti where he restored his authority, and on his return from Bengal, conqured Tirhut, then under Harisimha Deva, the last great King of the Karnataka dynasty of Mithila. Isami says the Rai of Tirhut fled to the jungles, but was hotly pursued by the imperial army, which lost its way very strong and could not be occupied. The land adjacent to it were laid waste and a large number of men were killed. After that Sultan Ghyasuddin placed Tirhut under the charge of Ahmad Khan, son of *Yal Talbagha*[1].

However, under Tughlaq Sultans Bihar found and maintained a new political status. The first half of the 14th century was an eventful period in Bihar. It witnessed, in quick succession, the establishment of the Tughluq hold over north and south Bihar during the reigns of Sultan Ghyasuddin and Mohammad Bin Tughluq, the meteoric rise under Haji Ilyas of Bengal and his dominance over the neighbouring western and south western areas, and finally, the thrusting back of Bengal's domination from certain parts of Bihar by Firuz Tughlaq.

The epigraphic and numismatic evidence also corroborates the successful Tughluq's hegemony over Bihar. The first inscription of Muhammad Bin Tughluq dated A.H. 726/1326 A.D.[2] from Darbhanga, is now unfortunately lost. But Mulla Taqiya a sixteenth century historian and traveller who passed through Bihar on his

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1. Isami, *Futuh-us-Salation*, ed. Agha Mehdi Husain, Agra, 1938, p.418.
2. Ilyas Rahmani, 'Uhd Islami mein Darbhanga', *Maa Sir*, (Urdu) Patna, May-June, 1949, pp. 70-72. Cf. Q. Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 24-26.

way to Bengal, noted down the full text of the inscription. He writes in his 'Bayaz' that it was inscribed in the facade of a mosque at Darbhanga constructed by Muhammad Bin Tughluq. The translation of the text runs as follows :-

> *"Allah, the most high, has promised, whoever brings a good deed shall receive ten fold, like it! This mosque was constructed by the warrior in the path of God, Muhammad, son of the Sultan, the pious martyr, the victorious, Ghyasud Dunya Wa'd Din, may Allah illumine his proofs. If some one asks you regarding the date of its foundation, say that this mosque (like that) of Aqsa (was constructed) in the year seven hundred and twenty of the Hijri era of the Prophet."*

This inscription is important as being the earliest epigraphic evidence of Tughluq rule over north Bihar. On the accession of Muhammad Bin Tughluq Raja Har Singh Dev of Tirhut restored to his ancestral domain on condition of paying tribute, but soon after he fell from grace. Zainuddin Majdul Mulk, the *muqta* of Bihar was ordered to expel him and to appropriate his dominion. Har Singh Dev fled to the mountains (Nepal area) in the end of 1326 and Shah Sufi was appointed as the Kotwal of the fort at Har Singhpur. Thus, Tirhut was again annexed to the Delhi Empire and a strong fort and Jami mosque was built[1]. The coins of Muhammad Bin Tughluq issued from Tughluqpur (Darbhanga) mint are also extant[2].

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1. Upendra Thakur, *History of Mithila*, Darbhanga, 1956, p.407. S.H. Askari, Historical value of Basatinu' l'uns' *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, Vol.XIVIII, 1962.
2. Nelson Wright, *Cataloque of the coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol.II, Oxford, 1907, pt.I, p.60 No.384.
   The coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi, Delhi, 1930, p.117, No.478, plvi.

There has been discovered two more inscriptions of Muhammad Bin Tughluq's reign, one from Bihar Sharif dated A.H. 732/1332 A.D., it records the renovation of a high gate way and a lofty portico in the wall of mosque that belonged to the Sakunat building which was the place of the Governor of Bihar[1]. The translation of the text reads as follows:

1. "In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the compassionate.

2. This high and world adorning gate and this lofty heaven-touching, portico was renovated in the reign of the Khalifa, the lord of the Kings of the Universe,

3. The ruler of mankind, who gives security and safety to the people of the faith, the heir to the Kingdom of Solomon, Abdul Mujahid, Muhammad son of Tughluq Shah, the Sultan may his Kingdom and rule be perpetuated. On the first day of the blessed month of Ramadhan the year seven hundred and thirty two 27 May 1332".

The second one, very important inscription dated 747/1346 from Bediban, district Champaran that records the construction of a well during the Governorship of Izzud-Din[2]. The translation of the text is as follows :

> "This well was completed through God's grace, during the auspicious reign of the emperor who is the asylum of the world, Muhammad Bin Tughluq Shah, may his Kingdom continue forever, during the Governorship of *Malikhul-umara Izzu'd Daula Wa'd Din* on the 20th of the month of Rabi I, 747, 11 July 1346."

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1. H. Blochmann, The Sakunat Inscription of Bihar, *J.A.S.B.* Vol. XIII, 1873, p.251. Cf.Q Ahmad, op.cit., p. 27.
2. Z.A. Desai, A note on the Inscription dated 747 from Bediban district Champaran, *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1961, p.26 (Hence forth EIAPS) Cf. Q. Ahmad, op.cit., pp.31-32.

It is worth notice that this epigraph records the construction of a well, a work of public utility as also of some economic significance. This sort of work presupposes the existence of comparatively peaceful conditions and a firm hold over the area and what is more important that it was not confined to major towns but undertaken in the remote parts too.

Thus, it is clear from the above quoted evidence that north Bihar at least its central and western portion was wrested from Bengal and along with south Bihar a separate administrative charge of Bihar was formed. The author of Masalik-ul-Absar also included Bihar as one of the 23 provinces of Muhammad Bin Tughluq's empire[1].

Before discussing the extent of Firuz Tughluq's empire, should take into consideration, the accession of Shamsuddin Haji Ilyas (1342-1357 A.D.) to the throne of Bengal which constitutes a land mark in the history of eastern India. Sultan Shamsuddin of Bengal, popularly known as Haji Ilyas, the founder of the two important towns of North Bihar, Hajipur and Shamsuddin pur (modern samastipur) which are situated to the north of the Ganges, extended his conquests to Tirhut and Champaran, whence he led an expedition to Nepal[2]. But the aforesaid inscription dated 1346 from Champaran shows that even after Haji Ilyas had reoccupied the parts of north Bihar but the western portion including Champaran continued to be under the Tughluq hegemony. Haji Ilyas captured Tirhut some time between 1342, the date of his invasion of Nepal which followed the conquest of Tirhut. But the inscription indicates that

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1. *Masalik-ul-Absar*, p.16.
2. *History of Bengal*, Vol.II, pp.1-4.

either Haji Ilyas soon lost control over this part of north Bihar or that his sway did not extend to the Western portions of north Bihar.

Moreover, there is no reliable evidence that Haji Ilyas, during the course of west ward expansion of his Kingdom, also attacked and subdued south Bihar. On the contrary, the available eipgraphic and numismatic evidences indicates that Mohammad Bin Tughluq held sway over both north and south Bihar. The epistle and the *tadhkiras* of the contemporary saint of Bihar, Sharf'ud-Din Yahya Maneri, contains numerous reference to the various provincial officers of Muhammad Bin Tughluq in Bihar[1].

It is quite likely that the Tughluq hegemony in south Bihar continued uninterrupted during the reign of Firuz Tughluq (1351-1388), whose inscriptions, ranging from 1353 to 1373 A.D. are the largest in number among those belonging to the Pre-Mughal era[2]. Firuz Tughluq is noted, among other things, for large number of buildings constructed under his orders in the capital as also in the other leading cities of the empire. In Bihar too his reign seems to have been characterised by vigorous building activities, as is evident by a large number of his inscriptions. And the buildings were of all kinds forts, Shrines, mosques and some whose purport can not be determined. As inscription dated A.H. 761/1359-60 from Bihar Sharif records the renovation of an 'auspicious building' by the efforts of the Fahim, the *barid* of the province during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq[3].

The translation of the text reads as following :

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1. S.H. Askari, The *Malfuzats* and *Maktubats* of the Fourteenth Century Saint of Bihar, *J.B.R.S.* Vol. XXXIV, 1948, pp.87-103.
2. *History of Bengal*, Vol.II, pp.105-6
3. Q. Ahmad, op.cit., pp. 42-44.

"This auspicious building was renovated in the reign of justice-fostering King, emperor of the world, Firuz Shah, through whom niches and pulpits (mosques) flourished, through the efforts and at the instance of the favourite servant, who is the barid of the khitta in the period of the just King angel nature. Malik of the perfect competency, Fahim who is renowned in the seven climes. Seven hundred years were past since the date of the Prophet's Migration and sixtyone besides (A.H. 761/1359-60). May the King be on the throne of good fortune forever, as victorious and successful as his name Firuz, the victorious."

This inscription belonged to the period of Firuz Tughluq's second expedition against Bengal which commenced in 1358-59and which lasted for about two years[1].

A contemporary reference, of rare historical value, informs us the presence of Sultan Firuz's army in the vicinity of Biharsharif during this period is contained in a *Malfuz* of the saint Sharfu'd-Din, named *Malfuzu's Safar*. It records a conversation under the date 23 December 1360, compiler, Zain Badr Arabi, mentions that he informed the saint that 'there was panic among God's creation on account of presence of the victorious armies of Firuz Shah Tughluq, whereupon the saint advised him to keep himself confined to his house[2]. It is corroborated by the author of *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, too, that Firuz Tughluq set out for Jajnagar, via Bihar, in October, 1360, and returned to Delhi in June, 1361[3]. Some six months after his presence in Biharsharif is referred to, and it quite fits in.

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1. Yahya Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, (Bib. Ind.) ed. Hidayat Husain, Calcutta, 1931, p.127.
2. S.H. Askari, The correspondence of two 14th century sufi saints of Bihar with the contemporary sovereigns of Delhi and Bengal, *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1956, Vol.II, pp.177-95, see also *Indian History Congress Proc.*, 1956, pp.208-24.
3. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, pp. 129-30.

There is one more epigraph dated A.H. 774/1373 A.D. from Tajpur Basahi, district Saran, which records the construction of a fort by Mukhlis Daud Khani in the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq[1].

The importance of this epigraph can hardly be exaggerated. It indicates clearly that north Bihar, too, at least the western half of it, continued to be under the rule of Firuz Tughluq. All this indicates a stable hold over the area and considerable constructive activities. The whole of Bihar was detached from Bengal and placed under Delhi Sultans, as a separate province.

There are some three or four inscriptions of reign of Firuz Tughlug's successors, Mohammad Shah Tughluq (1388-94) and Mahmud Shah Tughluq (1396-97), from Biharsharif, these are historically important. These indicates that Bihar remained loyal to Delhi Sultanate even under the later Tughluqs, when civil war and provincial insubordination were rampant.

The opening years of the 15th century witnessed the passing of the control over Bihar from the Tughluqs to the Sharqis of Jaunpur. The founder of the Sultanate of Jaunpur was Malik Sarwar, entitled *Sultan-ush-Sharq*[2]. According to the author of *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, Malik Sarwar was deputed by Mahmud Shah Tughluq, the last Tughluq Sultan to the eastern provinces in 1394 to suppress the disturbances in the Jaunpur-Bihar area, and who chastised the rebels, and recovered the areas of Bihar as well, and formed the virtually independent Kingdom of Jaunpur[3]. He however,

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1. Q. Ahmad, op.cit., p.57.
2. Mian Mohammad Sayeed, *The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur*, Karachi, 1972, p.31.
3. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* (Bib. Ind.) pp.156-57.

did not make a formal declaration of independence, taking only the title of Atabek-i-Azam[1]. But the pretence was given up after Malik Sarwar's death when Ibrahim Sharqi (1400-40) assumed full insignias of royalty, whose inscriptions in Bihar, beginning from 1402 to 1432 A.D. confirms his hold over the region[2]. His successors i.e. Muhmud Sharqi and Husain Sharqi continued the Sharqi's rule till 1486-87 over the whole of Bihar, which has been considerably discussed by S. Hasan Askari[3]. But this period witnessed the fluctuating struggle between the Lodis and Sharqis. At the end of first round Bahlul Lodi succeeded in driving out Husain Sharqi from his capital but the later still retained the eastern part of his Kingdom, including Bihar. The situation continued till the end of Bahlul's regime (1489) and during the early years of Sikandar Lodi. He was willing to maintain the status quo provided Husain Sharqi did not harbour or encourage his enemies. But the latter, bent on recovering his Kingdom, provoked the Lodi Sultan, which bore disastrous results for him and the remaining part of Kingdom. However, the regions of Bihar were annexed by Sikandar Lodi in A.H. 901/1495-96 and the newly acquired province was put under the charge of Mubarak Khan Nuhani, and then his son Darya Khan[4]. The latter continued to be the Governor of Bihar under Ibrahim Lodi, but rebelled later in his reign, and declared himself an independent ruler.

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1. Agha Mehdi Husain, *The Tughluq Dynasty*, Calcutta, 1963, p.457.
2. W.H. Siddiqui, 'Sharqi inscriptions in Bihar', *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1962, pp.42-52.
3. S.H. Askari, Bihar in the time of the last two Lodi Sultans of Delhi, *J.B.R.S.* Vol.XII, pt. III, 1955, p.359.
4. Ne'matull'ah, *Makhzan-i-Afaghinah*, Patna, MS. Fol. 122.

3. The Afghan Confederacy in Bihar

The period intervening between the conquest of Bihar by Sikandar Lodi in 1495 and its annexation to the Mughal Empire by Akbar at the end of 1574 extends to nearly a centrury. The importance of this epoch has to be measured not only by the number of years that bridge its span, but also by the momentous events with which it is replete. For these eighty years the political scene in Bihar was dominated by Afghan war-hordes of diverse power groups - Nuhanis, Farmulis, Sarwanis and Surs, who had turned it into a cockpit of their mutual conflicts and bitter contests for dominance. The provincial history of the period has, therefore, to be reviewed in terms of military campaigns waged on its soil, and diversion of its economic resources to win them. It was during this period that the colonization of large tracts of this land of adventure and romance had reached its apex; out of which there sprang up a confederacy or an eastern entente comprising of the leading Afghan chiefs that operated as a bulwark of resistance to the Mughal aggression and expansion in the region. The increasing pressure of the Mughals on the western approaches of Bihar threatened the security of Bengal, and its ruler, Nusrat Shah (1519-1532) joined the Afghan confederates to maintain his hold over the Kingdom. The confederacy was dissolved only under the despotic rule of Sher Shah (1540-45) but was again revived during the early part of Akbar's reign. The whole economy of the region was geared to the uses of war; exploitation of both agricultural and industrial production by the rival powers seemed the only means to meet the rising expenditure for the raising of armies and collecting of ammunition, equipment and provisions. Under these conditions when war was the rule of life and peace an exception, the normal growth of society suffered and setback, and local administrative structure and political order declined to the disadvantage of

the common man. With the establishment of the Mughal rule on permanent footing under Akbar, the dark chapter in the history of Bihar closed, and a new era of peace progress and stability began.

This section examines in fresh perspective the events related to a long drawn struggle between the Afghans and the Mughals within the compass of the provincial history of Bihar, with most attention devoted to a discussion of the main stages through which it passed, the patterns it assumed and the historical developments it effected. The story of this stubborn warfare begins with the formation of a strong military base by the Afghan chiefs who had gathered together in Bihar after the fall of Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat in 1526, and proceeds through a torturous course to a successful climax in 1540 when Sher Shah finally put the Mughal hegemony to an end by driving out Humayun beyond the confines of northern India. The story centres round the roles played by the Afghan and Mughal generals in wars and diplomacy of the period, their failures and achievements, the bilateral relations between the rulers of Bengal and Afghan chiefs of Bihar.

Even before the Lodi Empire broke down the Eastern Provinces had fallen from the control of its last ruler. By 1522 the Lohani state was established and the territory stretching from Jaunpur to Patna became virtually independent while the districts north of the Tons river and the whole Tirhut were conquered by Nusrat Shah of Bengal.

Darya Khan Nuhani, son of Mubarak Khan Nuhani had been appointed as the *Muqta* of Bihar in 1495-96 by Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517). After the death of Darya Khan his son, Bahar Khan, assumed independence under the title of

Muhammad, and appointed Mian Budan, a learned scholar of great repute, his *wazir*. The disaffected nobles and officers from all parts of the Kingdom flocked to his court in search of protection and jobs, the local religious leaders and *zamindars* espoused his cause. The military expedition despatched by Ibrahim Lodi under his veteran generals could not achieve its objectives, and before any further steps could be taken to destroy the power of Bahar Khan Nuhani, Ibrahim himself perished in the first battle of Panipat in 1526. The Lodi empire broke into pieces, and Bihar became an independent state, having no connection with the central authority which did not exist at the moment. The Centre of gravity of the Afghan power now shifted to Bihar. Hajipur, on the Gandak-Ganges confluence, emerged a most crucial strategic base for the security of both Bihar and Bengal. Nusrat Shah now organized all these elements into a confederacy, and succeeded in developing a framework of cooperation, notwithstanding the under-currents of mutual rivalaries, with an aim at preventing any penetration of the Mughals into this region. He appointed Makhdum Alam, his browther-in-law as its governor, with its headquarter at Hajipur.

The crux of the problem was how to maintain their hold over such strategic places as Jaunpur, Awadh and Chunar which constituted a defensive line to resist Mughal expansion into Bihar and Bengal. They launched a major offensive against the Mughals who were engaged in the conquest of Chanderi at the moment. Bayazid and Biban were sent towards Sarwar, Fateh Khan Sarwani and Sultan Mahmud Nuhani himself marched towards Chunar, and Sher Khan Sur and other generals proceeded to Benares. But the Mughals inflicted a crushing defeat in the battle of Ghagra in 1529, on the Afghans. This severe reverse to the Afghan power was soon followed by the sudden death of Sultan Muhammad in the same year, which was like a bolt

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from the blue to the Nuhanis. However, the Afghans were able to recover the lost glory and lost prestige under the leadership of Mahmud Lodi, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, brought to Bihar after his discomfiture at the battle of Khanwa, March 1527, by Afghan leaders, like Bilan, Bayazid and Azam Khan, his father-in-law. He was proclaimed the ruler of Bihar, and the leading Afghan nobles acknowledged him as their new master. Jalal Khan, the minor son of Sultan Muhammad Nuhani was set aside, and deserted by the Afghans as an useless instrument in their war machinery. he therefore, left the province and accompanied by his mother. Dudu sought refuge in Bengal with Nusrat Shah[1].

In the meantime Mahmud Lodi was defeated by Babur's army, and compelled to evacuate Bihar, thus paving way to the restoration of Jalal Khan who had been in secret negotiations with the Mughal conqueror. Jalal Khan accepted the status of a vessal under the Mughal suzerainty over Bihar, on the payment of an annual tribute of one crore *tankas*. Yahaya Khan Nuhani was also granted an *iqta* of 15 lacs *tankas* in the pargana of Parsarur on 15 June 1529. But Jalal Khan failed to consolidate his position and with the support of the Afghans who still looked to Sultan Mahmud as the rightful ruter. Sher Shah Sur submitted to Babur, and received a *jagir* in Bihar, while Nusrat Shah settled terms of peace with the Mughal king. The Afghan coalition disintegrated and declined[2].

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1. *Babur Nama*, Vol.II, pp. 530-32, 676.
2. Muhammad Kabir, Afsana-i-Shahan, Rotograph, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh, ff. 65 a-b. Rizqullah Mushtaqi, Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi, Rotograph of MS. B.M. Add. 11633, Fol. 48b.

The death of Babur in 1530 again revived the hopes of the Afghans to recapture their possessions and regain their strength in this crucially strategic area. They gathered in large number under the banner of Mahmud Lodi, who with the assistance of a strong army made himself master of Bihar, and drove out the Mughals from its important towns. Then they invaded jaunpur and occupied. But Humayun defeated them near Lucknow, two of their renowned battles of Chausa in 1530 and Bilgram in 1540 which resulted in the expulsion of the Mughals, and paving way to the establishment of the Afghan dominance over the whole of northern India[1].

4. Bihar Under Sher Shah

One of the regions which mostly claimed Sher Shah's attention for administrative re-organisation was Bihar. During the Lodi period, the region of Bihar under the direct rule of the Afghan Kings was comparatively very small but Sher Shah restored it to its former geographical limits by means of expansion. Formerly, the *vilayet* of Bihar, extended actually over the area of Bihar and Hajipur *sarkars* with Tirhut under and vassal ruler, while the *sarkars* of Saran and Champaran were treated as separate units, and they were governed by Mian Husain Farmuli[2]. Sher Shah not only incorporated these *sarkars* into his territory of Bihar but also separated a few from Bengal to add to it and thus Bihar was again transformed into a geographical and political entity.

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1. Abbas Khan Sarwani, Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, ff.31 b, 32 a. S.K. Benerjee, Humayun Badshah, p.214-17.
2. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabaqat-i-Akbari (Bib. Ind.) Vol.I pp.315-333. Rizqullah, Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi ff.20 b, 41 b.

Actually it was in Bihar that Sher Shah had started his career as an administrator as well as commander of an army, and so he had gained full knowledge about its resources, population and problems. Sher Shah built the new city of Patna and erected a fort, on the ruins of Ashoka's capital. However, Abul Fazl's description seems interesting enough when he praised to agricultural and horticultural productions of Bihar, especially for their quality and quantity[1]. Of course, these flourishing state of affairs may safely be attributed to Sher Shah's achievement.

Sher Shah met an untimely death at Kalinjar in 1545 and succeeded by his son Islam Shah, who ruled over practically the whole of northern India for eight years and died in 1553.

An inscription dated A.H. 955 from Biharsharif[2], it records the construction of a domed building and a cell in the *dargah* of some saints by Sayyid Yahya, *maqta* of the shiq of Bihar during the reign of Islam Shah in A.H. 955/1548-49 A.D. It is important as it provides and additional name of maqta of Bihar under the Surs. The author of *Riyaz-us-Salatin* states that Sulaiman Kararani was appointed governor of Bihar some time during the reign of Sher Shah and that Islam Shah left him undisturbed. However, in view of this incription, which mention Sayyid Yahya as the *maqta* of Bihar in 1548-49, whose one inscription dated A.H. 977/1569-70 from Biharsharif,[3] recording the construction of a gateway to the shrine of celebrated saint, Sharfud-Din Yahya Maneri has been discovered. later, taking advantage of the unsettled political conditions prevailing in Bengal and Bihar area, after the death of Islam Shah in

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1. *Aın-i-Akbari* Vol. II, p.165.
2. M.H. Kuraishi, op.cit., p.57,
3. *Rayaz-us-Salatin*, p.153. Q. Ahmed; op.cit., pp.152-54

October 1553, Sulaiman Kararani and his brother, Taj Khan Kararani, established their defacto rule over the whole region. Sulaiman ruled over Bengal and Bihar between 1565-72, but he took care to keep Akbar in good humour by acknowledging his sovereignty. But his son, Daud Khan Kararani, gave up this conciliatory policy, and while antagonising Akbar, he also alienated some of his own powerful supporters. As a result, he not only lost his life but also the Afghan hegemony over Bihar and Bengal.

5. Formation of Subah Bihar Under Akbar

The basis for the formation of Bihar as a separate *subah*, appears to have been laid by Sher Shah. His acquisition of the Kingdom of Bihar added some outlying areas i.e. Chunar, while his annexation of Monghyr from Mahmud Shah of Bengal extended the eastern boundary to the Rajmahal hills. The latter came to be regarded as the rightful boundary of Bihar in Mughal era. Bihar, had so long been usually divided into northern and southern regions, which were frequently held under two different and hostile powers. But the credit goes to the Akbar, when he constituted, Bihar[1] into one of the fifteen *subahs* of his empire in 1580 A.D. and the two were united and brought under a common and centralised political and administrative control.

Abul Fazal has described at length, the area of the *subah* as stretching east to west from Telia-Garhi to Rohtas, 120 *Kos* (300 miles) long, and north to south from Tirhut to the southern hill ranges, 110 *Kos* (275 miles) broad[2]. It was bounded

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, (Bib. Ind.), Vol.I, pp. 418-23.
2. Ibid. pp.420-23.

on the east and west by the neighbouring *subahs* of Bengal and Allahabad, and on the north and south by mountain ranges - the Himalayas and Vindhyas. The only other events of importance relating to the boundaries of the province, during the succeeding reigns of Shahjahan[1], and Aurangzeb[2] was the subjugation and final conquest of Palamau, the western portion of Chotanagpur plateau.

Palamau required a greater importance because of the activities of the Cheros. During the time of Aurangzeb, Daud Khan Quraishi, the governor of Bihar, led several expedition and finally reduced the fortress of Palamau in 1661. The boundary of Bihar was thus, more securely and firmly extended over Chotanagpur. Conversely, it has to be pointed out that certain areas which now definitely form a part of *subah* of Bihar were included in the province of Bengal. The entire sarkar 'Purnia' was included in Bengal. The area forming the present district was, according to *Ain* divided between the three neighbouring sarkars - of Tajpur, to the east of Mahanadi, Purnia to the west of it, and Monghyr. Similarly, Rajmahal, now in Bihar was the seat of residence of Man Singh, the Mughal *Subahdar* of the province of Bengal in the reign of Akbar. It was renamed by Jahangir, as Akbarnagar.

However, in 1582, the seven sarkars which were listed in the Todar Mal's assessment came to be known as *subah* Bihar These seven Sarkars[3] (administrative

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1. Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.II, pp.248-50.
2. Muhammad Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, pp. 648-660.
3. The political geography of the *subah* Bihar, i.e. the identification and location of *mahals* of that *subah* listed in the *Ain-i-Akbari* has been attempted by John Beames, 'on the Geography of India in the Reign of Akbar', pt.II, *subah* Bihar, *J.A.S.B.*, LIV (1885) pp. 162-82 with map.

units) of *subah* Bihar listed below, included the present day Bihar districts noted against them:

1. Sarkar Bihar.
2. Sarkar Monghyr.
3. Sarkar Champaran.
4. Sarkar Haji pur.
5. Sarkar Tirhut.
6. Sarkar Saran.
7. Sarkar Rohtas.

1. Sarkar Bihar[1] - This consisted of 4 6 *mahals* or *parganas*, with a total area of 9,52,598 *bighas* (17,204 Sq. miles)[2] yielded a revenue of 8,31,96,390 *dams*[3] (Rs.20,04,910/-) in 1601 A.D. The *Ain* records a total of 46 *mahals* but furnish names of 45 only. Each *pargana*, alongwith its revenue and in most cases its area has been named in the list. This *sarkar* corresponded to the modern districts of Patna, Gaya, Nawadah, Aurangabad, Nalanda and alsoincluded some portions of Chotanagpur and Palamau, as the *parganas*, Pundaq and Jay Champa given in the lists have been identified by John Beames as the modern Palamau and Chai Champa (Hazaribagh). Bihar was the *sarkar* headquarter and apparently remained so until later Patna, a *pargana* of this *sarkar* was already the capital of *subah* Bihar since

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I, pp.418-19 cf. *Kaghzat-i-Mutafarriqa* Add.6586, Rotograph, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh, ff. 101 a-b.
2. Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Delhi, 1982, Table I, Area and *Jama* (revenue) of the Mughal Empire c.1601.
3. *Dams*, was a copper coin, valued 40 dams = 1 rupee.

1582. A specific statement to this effect is not made in the *Ain* or *Akbarnama* but Patna not Bihar, contained the mint and it figures as the most prominent towns in Bihar in the description of Mughal military operation[1]. Ralph Fitch, who visited Patna in 1585-86, also leaves little doubt on this score[2]. Patna was renamed 'Azimabad' near the close of Aurangzeb's reign[3].

2. Sarkar Monghyr[4] - This consisted of 31 *mahals* with a revenue of 2,96,25,981.5 *dams*[5] (Rs.27,40,649/-) having an area of 7,745 Sq.miles. This usually, indicated a loose suzerainty over the area and a lack of proper control. This *sarkar* comprised the modern districts of Monghyr, Khagaria, Bhagalpur and some portions of the districts of Santhal *pargana*, Saharsa and Purnea as well.

3. Sarkar Champaran[6] - This had an area of 85,71 *bighas* (3,376) Sq. miles) and a revenue of 55,13,420 dams (Rs.1,37,835/-). The three *parganas* on *mahals*, Simroor, Mehsi and Maghwa are still extant. No headquarter or *haveli mahal* is referred. This *sarkar* bordered on that of Gorakhpur in Awadh and marked the north-western boundary of subah Bihar. It corresponds the modern districts of Champaran East (Motihari) and Champaran West (Bettiah).

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I, p.27, *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p.134.
2. Ralph Fitch, (1583 - 91), *Early Travels in India*, Oxford University Press, 1921, p.23.
3. Francis Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya Report*, pp.570-608.
4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I, pp.419-20. For identification of *Ain's mahals*, see John Beames, op. cit., p.170-73. Lists of 'Fiscal divisions' in Hunter, *A statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol.XIV, pp.239-51, XV, pp.175-89.
5. The stated figures in *Ain* which is 10,96,25,981.5 *dams* has been corrected by reference to the actual total *pargana* figures Cf. Irfan Habib, op. cit. Table I.
6. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I, p.420. Cf. Add. 6586 fol.100 a.

4. Sarkar Hajipur[1] - Its headquarter was Hajipur. It was the headquarter of the north Bihar unit of administration since the days of Delhi sultanate. It corresponds to the modern districts of Vaishali (Hajipur) and some portion of Begusarai. It covered 4,36,953 *bighas (arazi)* (2,479 Sq.miles) and a revenue of 2,73,31,030 *dams* (Rs.633,276/-) It lay along the tract between the Burhi Gandak on the north-east and the Gandak and Ganges on the south-west and South respectively. North of Gandak river lay the *sarkar* of Tirhut.

5. Sarkar Tirhut[2] - This comprised of 74 *mahals* and had an area of 2,66,464 *bighas* (6,509 Sq. miles) and a revenue of 1,91,89,777.5 *dams* (Rs. 4,79,494/-). The large number of *parganas* in this *sarkar* was due to their comparatively smaller dimension. It was bounded on the north by Nepal territory, on the west by *sarkar* Champaran on the south by *Sarkar* Hajipur on the east presumbably by *sarkars* of Monghyr and Purnea. It corresponds to the modern districts of Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Samastipur, Modhubani and Sitamarhi. Some portions of modern Saharsa and Purnea districts also included in the *sarkar*. The greater part of its area was under the rule of the Darbhanga Raj.

6. Sarkar Saran[3] - This included 17 *mahals*, all have been located. It had an area of 2,29,053 *bighas* (4,028 Sq. miles) and an revenue of 1,61,72,004.5 *dams* (Rs.15,04,300/-). Many of the *parganas* named in the list are still in existence. It comprised the modern districts of Saran (Chapra), Gopal Ganj and Siwan and it also included some portions of modern Ballia and Gorakhpur districts of Uttar Pradesh.

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1. Ibid.
2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I, pp.421-22. Cf. Add.6586 ff. 100 a, 101 a.
3. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I, pp.420-21. Cf. Add. 6586, fol.99 b.

It was bounded on the east by the Gandak, on the south by the Ganges, on the west by the Ghagra river and on the north by the foot-hills of Nepal.

7. Sarkar Rohtas[1] - This had 18 *Mahals* having an area of 4,73,340 *bighas* and a revenue of 4,08,19,493 *dams* (Rs.10,20,487/-). Its headquarter with *haveli* being at Rohtas, the famous fortress. It marked the south - western boundary of the province and comprised to the modern Shahabad district. It was bounded by the Ganges, Son and Karamanasa rivers on the north, east and west, and by the Kaimur range on the south. The only other important change in this administrative unit in subsequent times was the division of Rohtas into two by Aurangzeb in 1685 A.D. so the 18 *mahals* of the original sarkar were divided between the two new units, i.e. Bhojpur renamed Shahabad becoming the headquarter of the northern portion having 11 *mahals*, while Rohtas continued to be the name of residual sarkar containing 7 *mahals* only. The first revenue list to show in *Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri*, which furnishes separate *mahal* lists of both *sarkars*[2].

However, the total *arazi*[3] (measured land) of *subah* Bihar in 1601, the closing year of Akbar's reign was 24,44,120 *bighas* (55,478 Sq.miles), having a revenue of 22,19,404.5 *dams* (Rs.55,47,985/-).

Here it is necessary to mention the large region named Jharkhand. As described by Abul Fazl, it lay between Bihar and orissa[4]. To the north-east Jharkhand extended as far as the Ganga through the Rajmahal hills, because an alternative route

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol.I, pp. 422-23.
2. *Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri,* fol.115 a. Add. 6586, ff.99 b-100 a.
3. Irfan Habib, op.cit., Table I.
4. *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, pp.578, 611.

between Kahalgaon and Tonda lay through Jharkhand. Its limits similarly extended far to the west embracing the principality of Ratanpur and its borders marching with the limits of Gondwana. Jharkhand would seem to have obtained its name originally from its being largely a region of forest, since the name simply means 'forest land. From the fact that Gondwana was distinguish from it though the visible geographic aspects were similar, it would appear that its limits took into account a political factor also, viz: rule by Rajput Chiefs. So, Jharkhand seems to be divided among the three *subahs* of Bihar, Orissa and Allahabad[1].

6. Political Developments in Bihar Under Akbar

Akbar, a farsighted statesman, clearly realised the strategic importance of Bihar, and took decisive steps for its administrative control by the central government. So, by the end of October 1573, he was free from the affairs of Gujarat, and in a position to pursue his settled policy of annexing Bihar and Bengal to his empire. The pursuit of this expansionist policy was facilitated by the civil discords among the Afghan leaders who held sway over this vast region. Lodi Khan, whose son-in-Law, Yusuf, had been murdered by Daud Khan Kararani, sought the aid of Mun'in Khan, the Mughal governor of Jaunpur, in a bid to avenge the wrongs done to him. Through this conflict arose a situation which shaped the course of events as they developed in Bihar. Akbar directed Mun'im Khan to invade Bihar without delay, and asked Todarmal to proceed to control and supervise the organization of the expedition against the enemy. But the approach of the Mughal army towards Rohtas with an avowed object of capturing Bihar, brought a change in the attitude of Lodi Khan, who joined

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1. Irfan Habib, op. cit. See Sheet 10 A with detailed notes.

hands with his mortal foe, Daud Kararani, to avert the danger to the security and interest of the Afghan people in this strategic area. Nevertheless, Daud Khan suspected the bonafides of Lodi Khan on account of negotiations which he opened with the invader, and got him murdered by perfidy. Mun'im Khan spent three months in seizing Patna by force of arms, but failed in his efforts, mainly due to vigorous defence put up by the beleagured garrison. The discomfiture necessitated the presence of Akbar himself on the scene of fighting, and he, as a true warrior, reached Patna on 4 August 1574[1].

The first victory which the Mughals won after the arrival of Akbar was the occupation of Hajipur from where supplies and provisions flowed to Afghan troops in Patna. Thoroughly demoralised and weakened by the fall of their bastion of power, the Afghans abandoned Patna and fled helter skelter, while their leader Daud shut himself up in Tanda. Akbar chased a well organized detachment of the Afghans headed by Gujar Khan upto Daryapur and stopped there to survey the whole situation and decided the future course of action for his generals. For consolidating his territorial gains he made certain administrative arrangements, and for the suppression of the enemy troops scattered all round in Bengal and Bihar he appointed new commanders and generals to lead the armies. The supreme command of the expedition was entrusted to Mun'im Khan, who was also to administer Bihar as governor and Jaunpur which he had governed for long, was converted into *Khalisa* territory and placed under the charge of a *Diwan*, Razavi Khan. Farhat Khan was deputed to conquer the fort of Rohtas, now held by Haibat Khan Kararani, and

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1. *Akbarnama,* Vol.III, (Eng.tr.), pp. 144-45, 187-88

Muzaffar Khan, ex-prime minister, was ordered to join the grand Mughal army. Mun'im Khan was also empowered to recommend assignment of *jagirs* to nobles who would distinguish in the royal service, and removal of these who had failed to discharge their duties faithfully[1].

Having completed these administrative arrangements and evolved a strategy for launching offensive in Bengal, Akbar returned from Bihar and the Mughal army moved on its onward march to invade the province, August 1574.

A series of swift and easy successes attended the Mughal arms in Bengal. The capture of the fortified pass of Teliyagarhi the gateway of Bengal, was followed by the conquest of Tanda. Later, the Afghans were driven out from Ghoraghat in consequence of the defeat and death of their leader Sulaiman Mankali in a severely contested engagement. Taking advantage of concentration of the Mughal forces in Bengal, the Afghan adventurers including Junaid Kararani created disturbances on a vast scale in Bihar. But for the vigilance of the Mughal officers, the desperadoes could not gain any foothold in the province. Muzaffar Khan Turbati inflincted crushing defeats on the Afghans in every battle, and maintained his holds on Hajipur district which Akbar in appreciation of his services had conferred on him. Todar Mal proceeded to Orissa and forced battle on Daud Khan, and defeated him at Tukaroi (district Balasore) on 4 March 1575. But Mun'im Khan could not live for long to enjoy the fruits of his victory, as he after six months died on 23 October 1575 at the age of 80 years. Daud immediately tore off the treaty he had made with the Mughals after his defeat, and reoccupied the whole of Bengal. When reports of this disaster

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1. *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, pp. 190-200, 226-229.

were conveyed to Akbar he appointed Husain Quli Khan as governor of Bengal, who started for Bengal, accompanied by Todar Mal, in December 1575[1]. Muzaffar Khan, governor of Bihar was instructed to move to Bengal with his army to the support of Khan-i-Jahan. In the battle of Rajmahal fought on 12 July1576, Daud was captured and beheaded, and the whole province of Bengal was again annexed to the Mughal empire[2].

The final collapse of the Afghan power in Bengal decisively contributed to the rapid eclipse of their influence and prestige in Bihar. The two famous strongholds, Rohtasgarh and Shergardh which they had hitherto held firmly capitulated without any stiff resistance to the Mughals. It was Shahbaz Khan, a Mughal general of great dash and drive, who took possession of both the forts[3]. "The acquisition of these two celebrated fortresses completed the conquest and annexation of Bihar and Bengal." In Bihar the whole area from Shahabad to Teliygarhi on the two side of the Ganges was under the possession of the Mughals, while the north regions of north Bihar had also been subjugated Shahbaz Khan had also suppressed the local *zamindars* who fomented strife and disorder in north Bihar, Raja Gajpati, the Ujjainiya *zamindar* of Bhojpur, Behia and Jagdishpur, had formerly cooperated the Mughals in the conquest of Hajipur and Patna, but later he raised the banner of revolt and carried depredations in a large tract of land. But he suffereed severely in every combat with the imperialists, and his son Sri Ram peacefully surrendered the fort of Shergardh, now a ruined village 20 miles south-west of Sahsram, to Shahbaz Khan. The Mughal

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1. *Akbarnama,* Vol.III, pp.238-39, 248.
2. *Akbarnama,* Vol.III, pp.253-54.
3. *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, pp.240-42.

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rule was thus established and peace restored in large areas of Bihar. The local *zamindars* and chiefs submitted to the Mughal paramount power and began to cooperate with the local officers in the realization of revenues and maintenance of law and order.

7. Outbreak of New Rebellion in Bihar 1580-1585

Early in 1580 the province of Bihar witnessed a widespread rebellion of the Mughal military officers and contumacious Afghans which was aggravated by a menace of invasion from outside India. Simultaneously a major revolt broke out in Bengal, and its repercussions were felt in the area bordering Bihar. The course of events shook the constituted authority of the Mughals in Bihar, and threw its vast tracts into confusion and anarchy, which symbolised the curtain dropping on the last scene of a long-drawn Afghan. Mughal struggle for supremacy in this important part of the Empire. But the military genius of Akbar shone farther and dispelling the gloom that pervaded the whole landscape. By striking resistless blows Akbar succeeded in throughly shattering the power of the rebels, and transforming the whole region into a solid, stable and well-integrated territory under the Mughal rule that lasted for more than a century.

The origin of the revolt lay in the civil and military reforms that had inevitably accompanied the reorganization of Bihar into a separate *subah* in 1580, with a full - fledged local administration, comprising a governor, *diwan, bakhshi, sadr, qazi* and *kotwal*. Under the new system elaborate rules were framed to regulate, coordinate and control the services to whom norms and discipline and conduct were hitherto unknown. But the restraints imposed on them were balanced by 50% increase

in the salaries of troops and officers servings in Bihar. The officers were required to muster their troops, while *jagirdars* and *aimma* were deprived of various concessions and allowances. Whereas reforms regarding muster and branding were carried out in a most ruthless manner, the scheme of paying higher salaries to officers was not implemented strictly in accordance with the formula laid down by the Emperor. The finance minister Khwaja Shah Mansur unwisely cut the rate of payment to 20% and the governor of Bihar enforced the order of the imperial diwan with retrospective effect and demanded the refund of money paid to them in excess. Added to it were the reduction of subsistence allowances granted to *aimma* and resumption of *jagirs* of *mansabdars*. These ill-judged measures caused profound resentment among the landholders, the *jagirdars* and the *ulema*, and both joined hands to assert their rights by means of arms, the only method of protest with which the medieval man was familiar, when these influential elements of the ruling group were thus seething with discontent, the central government sent in March 1580 Bakhshi Rai Purushottam and Diwan Maulana Tayyab to Bihar to supervise the execution of the imperial orders and help the local government through the difficult period of transition[1]. These imperial officers, lacking in tact and imagination, failed to recognize the realities of the situation, and by their extreme ways drove the economically hardpressed person to desperation.

The orthodoxy had not reconciled to the religious philosophy of Akbar which reflected the spirit of the new age, and sought to replace the prevailing economic discontent by religious antagonism. The *qazi* of Jaunpur, Mullah Muhammad Yazdi, issued a *fatwa* declaring that Akbar had strayed from the true Islamic faith and the Muslims all over the country were religiously duty bound to take up arms against

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1. *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, pp.417-18.

him and overthrow his regime. Thus, the alliance between orthodoxy and economic interest gave rise to a movement of general political revolt that raged relentlessly for a long period, consuming large areas in Bihar, and shaking the very basis of royal authority. The leader of the revolt in Bihar was Masum Khan Kabuli, a foster brother of Mirza Hakim and a brave soldier, who united the disaffected *jagirdars* and officers under his banner. But he was, along with his comrades, sent from Patna to Rohtas by the governor of Bihar, Muhibb Ali Khan, and Purushottam proceeded to Ghazipur to check the spread of rebellion in the territory. But Purushottam was defeated and killed by the rebels who were later routed with heavy casualties by Muhibb Ali Khan.

The news of an intensifying revolt against his authority left no alternative to Akbar but immediate despatch of troops, ammunitions and provisions under the command of Raja Todar Mal, supported by other generals, for its suppression. The emperor himself stayed at the capital to keep vigilance on the movements of Mirza Hakim whose aggression in India seemed imminent. It became apparent that some of the rebels in this region were in secret alliance with the foreign invader. The flames of revolt in no time spread into Bengal blasting away the lid under which cauldron of disaffection and discord simmered for long. Muzaffar Khan, governor of Bengal added fuel to the fire by his inept handling of the situation. His failure to settle the issues in dispute through negotiations ruined all prospects of peace. The rebels concentrated in Tanda, besieged the governor, and held their own on this front. The imperialists failed to save either the capital of Bengal or its governor, Muzaffar Khan was captured and tortured to death in April, 1580. Tanda was occupied and in other theatres they scored advantages. These military successes exceeded their highest

expectations and they, in their moment of triumph, proclaimed Mirza Hakim of Kabul as their sovereign and recited ***khutba*** in his name. Masum Khan kabuli was appointed the chief minister or ***wazir***. In Bihar, Bahadur, son of Said Badakhshi, assumed the title of the king and exercised sway over the country from Tirhut to Hajipur. Their military strength was consisted of 30 thousand horse, 500 elephants and big park of artillery. Unable to face this powerful army, in the open, Todar Mal entrenched himself in the fort of Monghyr and strongly fortified it.

On being apprised of this critical situation, Akbar hurried reinforcements to the scene under the command of Mirza Aziz Koka, supported by Shahbaz Khan, who had been summoned from Mewar[1]. The reports of their approach towards Bihar disheartened the rebels and they raised the siege after two months. Todar Mal escaped the gate that had befallen. Muzaffar Khan and the imperialists gained confidence to launch offensive against the enemy. Todar Mal moved straight to Patna where Chaudhri Krishna had shut himself in the fort with the treasure he had brought from Agra for the use of the state armies engaged in fighting. He defeated Arab Bahadur who was surrounding the Chaudhri in a campaign, and took possession of the fort and the treasure. Masum Khan Kabuli was also defeated in a severe contest, fought near Shergati. But success brough in its train mutual dissensions and jealousies among the prominent Mughal generals - Todar Mal, Aziz Koka and Shahbaz Khan, as each of them wanted to monopolise the prize of victory at expense of others. They failed to work unitedly, and matters drifted as hopelessly as before. However, the flight and subsequent submission of Mirza Hakim broke the backbone of all insurrectionary

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1. *Akbarnama,* Vol.III, pp.625-29.

forces in Bihar.

Arab Bahadur was defeated and sent to the capital in chains where he was put to death. By 1582 the revolt which had assumed dangerous dimension was quelled and the rebels every where in Bihar began to retreat and loose influence. Masum Khan Kabuli kept up a struggle for a longer period in Bengal, but was routed and driven back again and again, though never overtaken or captured in pursuit by the victors. Frustrated and forlorn he died in 1599. The struggle ended in the triumph of Akbar. He demonstrated unique courage, ability, resourcefulness and statesmanship in overcoming a crisis that had posed a threat to his regime.

8. Subedari of man Sing, 1587 - 99

Man Singh was deputed as governor of Bihar and conferred the title of Raja and the rank of 5,000/5,000 (*zat* and *sawar*) in 1589[1]. As described by Abul Fazal.

> *"Raja Man Singh administered excellently and deligently and all refractories became obedient"*[2].

He suppressed effectively all the rebels, i.e. Raja Puranmal of Gidhaur, who gave his daughter in marriage to Man Singh's brother, Chandra Bhan, and Raja Sangram Singh of Kharagpur including Anant, the Cheru chief. All submitted to the Mughals and presented a huge money and rarities of Bihar as *Peshkash*. There is very important *sanad*, dated 999 A.H./1590-91 A.d. issued by Raja Man Singh records a grant of 15

1. *Akbarnama,* Vol.III, p.863.
2. *Akbarnama,* Vol.III, pp.872-73.
3. S.H. Askari, 'Some documents relating to the Mausoleum of Mamoon-Bhanja at Jaruha near Hajipur', *Begal Past and Present,* Vol.IXVI, 1946-47.

bighas of land to the custodian of mausoleum of Mamoon Bhanja, in Jaruha (*sarkar* Hajipur[3]).

Man Singh tried his best to restore peace and tranquility in the province and became successful to a great extent in his attempt. Then he undertook an expedition for the conquest of Orissa in 1591 an for this conspicious achievement, he was rewarded with appointment to the *subedari* of Bengal. It seems significant to note that many Rajput *zamindars* of Bihar like Raja Sangram Singh of Kharagpur, Puranmal of Gidhaur, Rupraina Sisodia and many other joined with him in their expedition[1]. Man singh also laid the foundation of a new city; Akmahal which he renamed Rajmahal and made it the official capital of Bengal. Subsequently Emperor Jahangir called it as Akbarnagar, now in Santhal Pargana district of Bihar. His name is associated with two architecturally important places in Bihar-Rohtasgarh and Akbarnagar where he constructed a number of buildings[2].

It appears that Man Singh left Bihar in 1599, following his transfer to Bengal[3]. He was replaced by Saeed Khan[4]. He built a mosque at Biharsharif, and his

1. *Akbarnama,* Vol.III, pp.878-80.
2. Q. Ahmad, op.cit., pp.175-77.
3. *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, pp.790, 863, 933-37, 1042-43.
4. Saeed Khan's ancestors served the Mughals since the days of Humanyun. His father, Yaqub Beg, was one of the distinguished noble of Akbar's time. Saeed Khan firstly noticed when he got appointment as governor of Punjab in 1571. Later in 1599, he was appointed governor of Bihar and promoted to the rank of 3,000. Since 1584 he was holding, Hajipur and its adjacent territory as his *jagir*. Probably, Saeed Khan and his brother Makhsus Khan lived together at Hajipur and the latter administered his brother's *jagir* with his headquarters at Hajipur and built a mosque there. See *Akbarnama*, III, pp.356-57, 587, 629, 800, 999, 1031, 1060. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, II, pp.609, 682.
5. Q.Ahmad, op.cit., pp.169-73.

brother, Makhsus Khan also constructed a grand jami mosque at Hajipur in 1587, which is still extant[5].

After his departure that Prince Daniyal proceeded to Bihar to put down the revolt of Dalpat Ujjainiya, who had again defied royal authority on the strength derived from his powerful clan[1]. Even he offered his daughter in marriage to Prince Daniyal, and she according to Abul Fazl, gave birth to a son in the beginning of March 1604, whom Akbar named Farhang Hushang[2].

Prince Salim, the heir - apparent to the throne, figures prominently in Bihar during the confused period between the departure of Saeed Khan and the appointment of Asif Khan[3], the last imperial governor of Bihar at the end of Akbar's reign[4].

Abul Fazl and Mu'tamad Khan, both state that the rebellions prince, Salim, advised by Raja man Singh to seize the eastern provinces. So he arrived at Allahabad in 1600, and within a few months he captured all the regions upto Hajipur and Patna. He collected more than 30 lacs of rupees from *Khalsa-i-Sharifa* revenue in Bihar[5].

9. Bihar in the reign of Jahangir, 1605-1627

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1. *Akbarnama,* III, pp.1077, 1131.
2. *Akbarnama,* III, p.1238.
3. Asaf Khan Mirza Qiwamuddin Jafar Beg was a son of Mirza Badiuzzama of Qazwin. He joined Akbar's Court in 1577 and secured the rank of 200. Later he was promoted to rank of 2,000 with a title of Khan. During the last years of Akbar's reign i.e. 1604-5, appointed as governor of Bihar and raised to the rank of 3,000. See for details *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, tr. H. Beveridge, Patna, 1979, pp.282-86.
4. *Akbarnama,* Vol.III, p.1249.
5. *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, p.1155. Mu'tamad Khan, *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, p.259.

During the reign of Jahangir the *subah* of Bihar remained an independently governed administrative unit of the Mughal Empire. Lala Beg, also called Baz Bahadur[1], an important noble of the Court was appointed governor of Bihar to succeed Asaf Khan within a month of Jahangir's accession[2]. He successfully suppressed the revolt of Raja Sangram Singh of Kharagpur and for this notable service he was promoted with title of Jahangir Quli[3]. He was transferred to Bengal and was replaced by Islam Khan[4]. During his period the Ujjainiyas under Raja Madhokar, started fomenting strife, suffered reverses; the Raja perished in a campaign. However, Islam Khan could not stay longer in Bihar, as Abdur Rahman entitled Afzal Khan was shortly after this event sent to take charge of the provincial administration[5].

In the series of governors, one Ibrahim Khan, a brother of Nur Jahan was deputed to Bihar in 1615[6]. The most significant achievement of the said governor was the conquest of Kokrah (Chotanagpur) and the acquisition of the diamond mines which lay in the river beds of that region. In recognition to his services, Ibrahim was given the title of Feateh Jang[7].

The next governor of Bihar was Jahangir Quli Khan, son of Khan-i-Azam

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1. He was one of the slave born servant of Mirza Hakim. After the death of his master, joined services under Akbar, who interested him to Prince Salim and the latter gave him the title of Baz Bahadur and was given the charge of Bihar. *Maasir-ul-Umara,* Vol.I, pp.728-29.
2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Text, p.129
3. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr. Alexander Rogers, Vol.I, pp.295-96.
4. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol.I, p.113.
5. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol.I, p.206.
6. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol.I, p.286.
7. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol.II, pp.37-38, 285-90.

Mirza Aziz Koka, but due to his incapability to govern the province effectively, he was transferred and succeeded by Muqarrab Khan in 1619 an old servant who enjoyed the confidence of the king[1]. He was an experienced and competent administrator, his performance in Gujarat had contributed to the stability of Mughal authority and prosperity of the people. He had maintained cordial relations with English Factors at Surat, and pursued the same policy of friendship with them in Bihar. He evinced a keen interest in gardening. He was also fond of tapestry curtains, bradcloth, looking-Glasses, swords and small arms and other rare articles which the English brought to Bihar for sale. The English regarded Muqarrab Khan as one of the best friends. In a letter from Patna dated 12 July, 1620, Robert Hughes writes, "since my coming I have visited the governor, Muqarrab Khan, who seems to be a wonderous pleasant man, he was inquisitive enough to know the goods that what I had brought with me". he also promised him to his protection and helped him to find out a house in the great bazar, near into the *kotwal's* choultry on a rent of Rs.6/12/- per month[2].

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1. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Text, p.244. Shaikh Hasan Hassu, who was granted the title of Muqarrab Khan by Jahangir was a famous surgeon - physician of his time. At first referred when he assisted his father Bhia or Baha, who himself a surgeon, in operating upon Akbar who afflicted with some injury in 1595-96. He was appointed governor of four provinces i.e. Delhi, Gujarat, Bihar and Agra. He appears to be a great favourite of Emperor Jahangir, who always treated him generously. In 1616 he promoted to the rank of 5,000/2,500 and in 1617 again his rank was raised to 5,000/5,000 when he appointed to the *subedari* of Gujarat. In 1619 he took charge of Bihar remained here till 1621 when transferred to province of Agra. Thus, within a short span of time Muqarrab Khan had attained the very prestigious rank of 5,000/5,000 which a few could reach. See, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, pp.104-5, 121, 149, 163, 375. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, pt.I, pp.379-82.
2. N.N. Ray. *The Annals of the Early English Settlement in Bihar, p.24.*
3. Ibid., p.26.

Hughes further writes that Muqarrab Khan was a great physician which accounts for his being "insistent for three or four cases of empty bottles"[3].

In March, 1621, Prince Parvez[1] was appointed to rule Bihar in place of Muqarrab Khan. He offered his name to parvezabad, now known as Paleza, which is situated on the across of the Ganges. The province of Bihar was given in assignment to him which he successfully governed with the assistance of Mukhlis Khan as his Diwan, Sher Khan and Iftekhar Khan as *faujdars*[2].

Captain Hamilton[3] remarked that "Patna as the residence of the Prince of Bengal who is always of the royal blood". An inscription dated 1036/1626-27 from Patna city[4] which is fixed at the main entrance in the facade of mosque commonly called *Patthar-ki-Masjid*, situated in a mohalla of the same name, on the main road between Bankipur and Patna city. It records that "in the time of Parvez Shah, son of Jahangir Badshah, Nazar Khwishgi, an officer under Prince Parvez, a staunch follower of creed of Muhammad, built the mosque out of the stone and wood - material of the idol-house which, alongwith the fort of Majhauli, he had destroyed." It indicates the star-studded career of Prince Parvez and his officer Nazar Khwishgi.

Prince Parvez succeeded by Mirza Rustam Safavi in 1626, a great grandson of the Persian King, Shah Ismail and father-in-law of Prince Parvez, as the last governor

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1. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* Vol.II, pp.89, 200.
2. Ibid., pp.89-91.
3. *A New Account of the East Indies,* p.201.
4. W.H. Quraishi, 'A Note on Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna,' *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol.XVIII, pt.I, 1932, pp.45-47.
5. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol.I, p.229. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.II, pt.II, pp.631-37.
6. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol.II, p.298. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, p.280.

of Bihar, during the reign of Jahangir[5]. His eldest son, Mirza Murad honoured with the title of Iltefat Khan by the Emperor Jahangir[6], who subsequently settled himself at Patna. His tomb in the compound of the General Hospital of Patna is still an object of veneration. The mohalla of Muradpur at Patna, also bears his name.

10. Bihar Under Shahjahan, 1628-58

During the reign of Shahjahan, Mirza Barkhurdar, who received the title of Khan-i-Alam in the fourth regnal year of emperor Jahangir, was appointed as the first governor of Bihar in February, 1628[1]. A letter of the English Factor[2]. of Agra, dated 17 February, 1628, says "Ckawn Hallam" (Khan-i-Alam) is ordered to speedily to go to Hajipur - Patna to govern the country side thereabouts" within a short period he was recalled and Mirza Safi, better known as Saif Khan succeeded to him on 12 September, 1628 and continued till 24 May, 1632[3]. He was the son of Amanat Khan and husband of Malika Banu, the eldest sister of Empress Mumtaz Mahal. Saif Khan has been described as 'one of the best governors of Bihar under the Mughals', and his period of governorship was marked by 'peace, prosperity and splendour for the province[4]. The contemporary European traveller, Peter Mundy, who came to Patna just after the transfer of Saif Khan to Allahabad, also speaks very high of him, and contrasts his regime with the oppressive rule of his successor, 'Abdullah Khan[5].

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1. Sadiq Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, Text, p.590.
2. *English Factories in India*, 1634-36, p.114.
3. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.II, pp.689-92.
4. S.H. Askari, 'Bihar in the time of Shahjahan, '*Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1944, pp.347-56.
5. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia*, 1608-67, Vol.II, ed. R.C. Temple, the Hakluyt series, London, 1914, pp.108, 159.

Saif Khan was keenly interested in architecture and the author of *Maasir-ul-Umara* writes, 'he built grand houses in Patna[1].'' He constructed an idgah situated in patna city in 1628-29 and a *madrasa* or college with residential quarters for students and teachers including a mosque[2]. The *madrasa* or college was a great seatof learning, and was regarded as such till as late as the middle of the 18th century. Another noteworthy man of Bihar during the period under review, was Raja Roz Afzun, the converted son of Raja Sangram Singh of Kharagpur[3], who distinguished himself in distant campaign and whose mosque is still extant in Kharagpur (Monghy[4]. The capable governor, Saif Khan had been transferred to Allahabad in 1632 and was succeeded by Abdullah Khan Firoz Jung[5]. He suppressed the rebellion of Ujjainiya *zamindars* led by Raja Pratap of Bhojpur in Shahabad district. The author of *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainiya* has described the pros and cons of the rebellion in a sizable length[6]. There is one incription belong to the mosque of Habib Khan Sur, situated in mohalla Paithan Toli in Biharsharif town constructed in 1638 during the period of Abdullah Khan's governorship of Bihar[7]. Shaista Khan[8], a man of royal connection, being the brother of the Empress Mumtaz Mahal, appointed as the governor of Bihar in shawwal 1048/February, 1639 and held that post till 1052/1643 A.D. in succession to Abdullah Khan. One of his officers, Haji Chand was very fond of building, decorated

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1. *Maasir-ul-Umara,* Vol.II, pp.689-92.
2. Q. Ahmad, op.cit. pp.226-28.
3. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol.I, pp.295-96. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.II, pp.609-11.
4. *Report of the Regional Records Survey Committee, Bihar*, Patna, 1958-59, pp.14-15.
5. Mohammad Saleh Kambo, *Amal-i-Saleh*, Text, II, pp.432.
6. Munshi Vinayak Prasad, *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainiya*, Vol.II, p.29.
7. See *Report of the Regional Records Survey Committee*, Bihar, 1957-58, p.4.
8. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.II, pp.225-36. *Badshanama*, Vol.II, p.136.

mosque, one of which bearing inscriptions dated 1646-47, stand at mohalla Balkishunganj, Patna city. The most important event of his regime and also that of his successor, Itiqad Khan, was the subjugation of Palamau in the Chotanagpur division of the province[1]. A fairly detailed and interested account of the successful campaign led against the rebellious, Raja Pratap, first by Shaista Khan and again under Itiqad Khan, by Zabardast Khan in 1643 A.D., has been substantially dealt by Dr. B.P. Saxena[2].

It is necessary to note here that in the 20th year of Shahjahan's reign when prince Shuja was recalled from Bengal Itiqad Khan, in addition to his governorship of Bihar, was appointed viceroy of Bengal where he continued for two years. The historical records clearly proves that Bihar was not destined to be tagged on the Bengal ever since the 20th years of Akbar's reign, when it was place under a separate governor, uptil the time Prince Azim-ush-Shan, towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign[3].

In a series of governors, one Jafar Khan, who held charge of Bihar from A.H.1061-66/1651-56, built the famous historic garden *Bagh-i-Jafar Khan*, at Patna city, which still reveals his name[4].

Next to him, Zulfiqar Khan who appointed as governor of Bihar and he ruled from 20 May 1656 to 22 April 1657. There is nothing important to note here

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1. *Amal-i-Saleh*, Vol.II, pp.397-98.
2. B.P. Saxena, *History of Shahjahan of Delhi*, pp.118-20.
3. *Badshahnama*, Vol.II, p.583.
4. S.H. Askari, op.Cit. p.357, f.n.52.
5. *Amal-i-Saleh*, Vol.II, pp.504-5.

during his tenure, except some officials were transferred from one place to another[5].

His cussessor in Bihar was Allahwardi Khan who took charge on 22 April, 1657[1].

11. Subah Bihar During the War of Succession, 1657-58

His tenure of governorship coincides with the war of succession among the sons of Shahjahan.

Prince Shuja was the governor of Bengal when the peace of Bengal was disturbed and in the words of Stewart[2], "by the noise of a martial kettledrum", announcing the commencement of war of succession. It was he who on the receipt of information of his father's illness staked his claim to the throne by an appeal to arms[3]. Extremely impatient to wait the final outcome of his father's illness, Shuja started war preparations to capture the imperial throne. When reports of Shahjahan's recovery were conveyed, he doubted their validity on the ground that they had been fabricated to lure him into a trap. He thought that it was his brother Dara Shikoh's trick to gain time against him. After collecting considerable resources, a large army, he advanced from Rajmahal in 1658 A.D. towards north India[4].

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1. Allahwardi Khan traced his descent from Sultan Sanjar, the last of the great Saljuq Emperors, and he was also a younger brother of Mukhlis Khan, who had been served as the deputy of Prince Parvez, in Bihar during the reign of Jahangir. See for details *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, pp.668-72.
2. Charles Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p.255.
3. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, pp.2-3. *Alamgirnama*, p.27. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol.II, p.4.
4. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.4. *Alamgirnama*, p.27.

Allahwardi Khan, the governor of Bihar joined shuja, as he found himself unable to resist him. He went to Benaras and paid homage to the prince. Shuja conferred on the governor of Bihar high rank and rewards, and called him Khan Bhai. He was, however, not allowed to return to Patna and look after the administration of Bihar, as his services were needed in the impending war of succession. Allahwardi Khan was present at the battle of Bahadurpur in which Shuja was defeated by his young nephew, Sulaiman Shikoh, son of Dara Shikoh[1]. Shahjahan in a letter urged Shuja to withdraw to Bengal and settle terms of peace offered by Mirza Raja Jai Singh, the imperial general deputed for the purpose[2]. By this time the fact of the Emperor's recovery had become well - known and the soldiery under Shuja could not be expected to fight against the reigning monarch. Shuja therefore agreed to retreat and repair hs severed relations with his father. But the truce was violated by Sulaiman Shikoh who made a surprise attack on Shuja's army and routed it inflicting heavy losses in men and money. This happend on 4 February 1658. Shuja escaped and took shelter in the fort of Monghyr[3]. Meanwhile Sulaiman and Mirza Raja Jai Singh received an urgent message from Dara Shikoh, who asked them to patch up peace with Shuja and hasten to the west to assist him against the joint forces of Murad Bakhsh and Aurangzeb[4]. The terms of the treaty signed in May 1658, negotiated and settled by Shuja's plenipotentiary, Mirza Jan Beg and not by Allahwardi Khan. At the same time, correspondence was going on between Murad and Aurangzeb, on

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1. K.R. Qanungo, *Dara Shikoh*, Calcutta, 1952, p.246.
2. Mohammad Masu'm, *Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai'* I.O.M.S. No.543, fol.145.
3. J.N. Sarkar, *Studies in the Aurangzeb's Reign*, p.7. *Alamgirnama*, p.37.
4. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.9.

the one hand, and Shuja on the other.

Then came the news of Dara's defeat, the imprisonment of his father and usurpation of throne by his brother Aurangzeb[1]. After much consideration, Shuja sent a congratulatory letter to Aurangzeb, who in his reply expressed feelings of gratitude and affection:

> "As you had often before begged the emperor Shahjahan for the province of Bihar, I now add it to your viceroyalty. Pass some time in peaceful atmosphere to administer it and repair your broken pomp and power. Like a true brother I shall not refuse you anything that you desire, be it land or money"[2].

Neither the professions of brotherly love nor the exaltation to a higher status could assuage the fears of Shuja against his brother who had treacherously imprisoned Murad and made the father captive in his own fort at Agra. No reliance could be placed on the plighted word of a faithless usurper who had unashamedly gone back on the pledge made to Murad a few months before. He could not be allowed to enjoy power or peace in this eastern region and sooner than later would be struck down by his victorious brother. His survival lay only in fighting and seizing the throne for himself. He declared that he would concentrate all his energies and resources "to secure the person of Shahjahan and restore the old government and then I shall stay at court as my father's obedient servant." Having decided on this policy of relentless struggle for supremacy, Shuja 'advanced towards Agra with an ever-increasing strength. His march was undisturbed by any opposition, soldiers,

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1. *History of Bengal*, Vol.II, p.337.
2. Letter quoted, *History of Bengal*, Vol.II, p.337.

officers and leading men favoured his cause; but near Allahabad an overwhelming army, superior both in number and strength, stood up to challenge him. On 5th January 1659 a battle took place at Khajwa which ended in the disastrous defeat of Shuja, dashing his hopes of dominance to pieces. However, luckless prince effected his escape but was hotly chased by Mir Jumla, the ablest general of Aurangzeb[1]. Manucci, says that Allahwardi Khan played a part of the traitor to Shuja at the battle of Khajwa. According to him the ex-governor of Bihar having received a secret letter from Aurangzeb, sent at the instance of Mir Jumla, "resorted to same tactics as Khalil-ullah Khan that used with Dara." Consequently, Prince Shuja accepted his advice, left his elephant, got on a horse and thus gave a handle to his rival brother to convert his defeat into victory[2].

The subsequent events leading to the final flight of Shuja in May 1660 to Arakan form an interesting but grim story of matchless gallantry and endurance which the Prince exhibited in course of his contest with the imperialists. But these details do not fall under the purview of the present discussion for they have no bearing on the history of Bihar.

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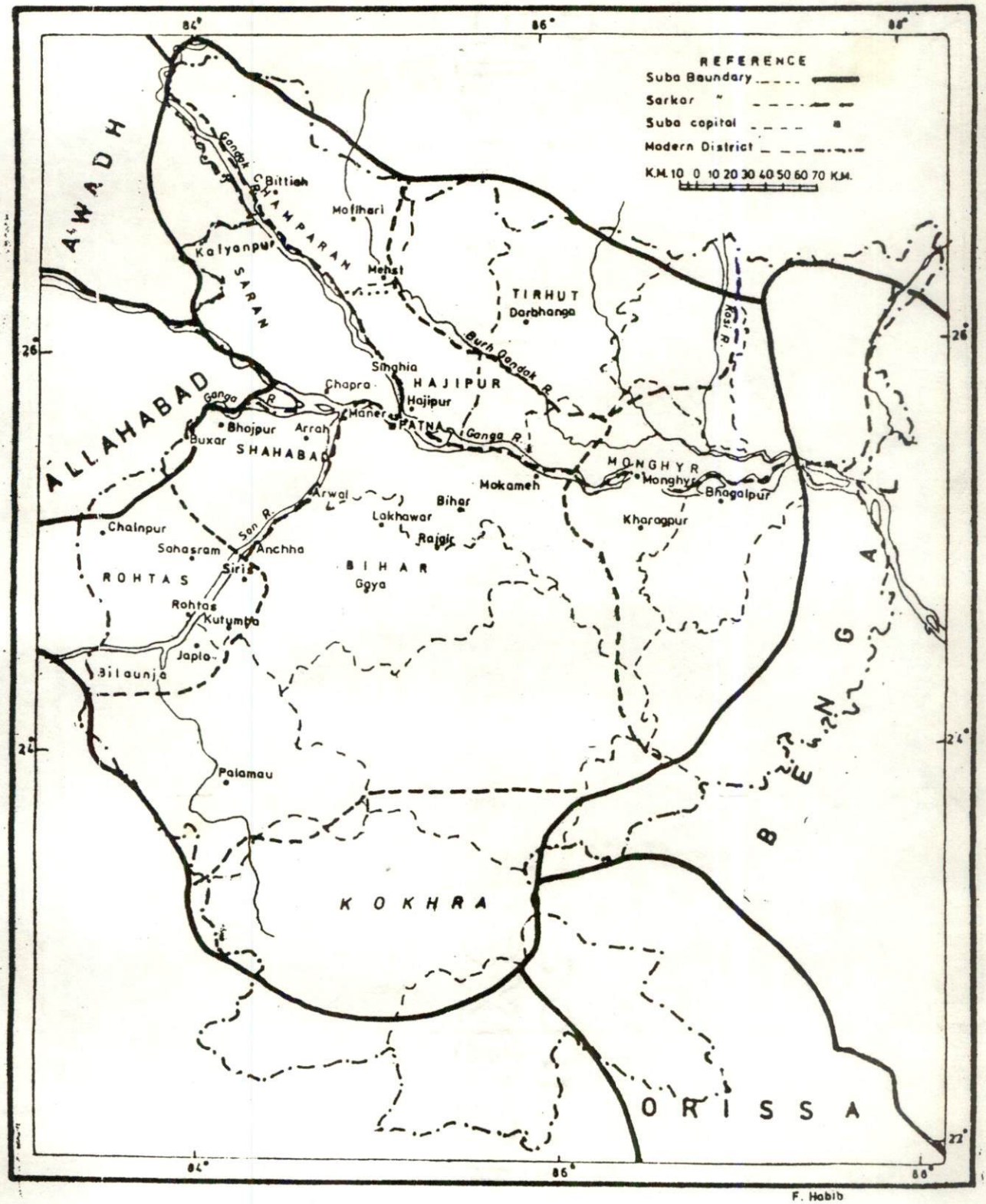
1. *Alamgirnama*, pp.216,223-24. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol.II, p.45. It appears that Daud Khan Quraishi, the new governor Bihar, played a significant role in assisting Mir Jumla in his prolonged fighting with Shuja' See *Alamgirnama*, pp.226, 286. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, p.530.
2. *Storia Do Mogor*, Vol.I, pp.330-31.

BIHAR
BOUNDARIES 1707



F. Habib

CHAPTER - II

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN BIHAR UNDER AURANGZEB 1658-1707

Bihar played a remarkable role, during the time of Aurangzeb, in stabilising his claim as the Emperor of Hindustan. We have seen that since the reign of Akbar, Bihar had the status of an absolutely independent administrative unit of the Empire. The Governors of Bihar were in no way subordinate to Governors of Bengal.

1. Conquest of Palamau

Daud Khan Quraishi, 1659-1664 was the first governor of Bihar whom Aurangzeb appointed after his enthronement[1]. He had taken a leading part in the expedition conducted by Mir Jumla against Prince Shuja' in Bengal, and after returning to Patna devoted himself to the suppression of disruptive elements still lurking round the city. His most important achievement was the conquest of Palamau which enhanced the prestige of Aurangzeb as the superb and successful general.

Palamau in the seventeenth century occupied a large area than this modern district is comprised of today. Situated 80 miles in the north of Patna, the whole territory was hilly and densely-wooded. The population was scanty, living in small and scattered villages embosomed in the hollows among the hills. The bulk of the population belonged to a Dravidian race of the Cheros[2]. In 1625, one of the Chero

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1. *Alamgirnama*, p.286.
2. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II, p.20

Chiefs, Medini Rai had extended his sway and made himself lord paramount of the southern portion of Gaya, large parts of Hazari bagh and Sirguja, and pushed into Chotanagpur as far as Doisa[1]. His clansmen were hereditary cattle-lifters and highway robbers who had made the life and property of the people living on their borders insecure and miserable. The lords of the soil officers, as they relied on the impregnability of their forts and the inaccessibility to their country. They even pillaged the imperial territory. Their growing menace created a situation which called for an urgent and stern action against these brigands. During the reign of Shahjahan, a punitive expedition was despatched on 12th February 1642 under Shaista Khan. Pratap Rai submitted after suffering reverses in the battles, agreeing to pay an indemnity of Rs.80 thousand to the Mughal government. Again in 1643, Zabardast Khan compelled the Chero chief to accept dictated to him. He went to Patna where he paid homage to the governor and offered to pay an annual tribute of one lakh of rupees. His subsequent good behaviour qualified him for a *mansab* of 1,000 on the recommendation of the governor of Bihar, Itqad Khan. The administration of palamau was also placed under his charge on the *Jama'* (assessed revenue) of 2½ lakhs[2]. But the undertaking was not taken seriously and no tribute was paid for years together; nor did he give up his old practice of pillaging the frontier villages and towns. He gave himself the airs of an independent ruler. His aggressive and defiant attitude provoked Aurangzeb beyond endurance. The emperor consequently ordered Daud Khan to march with all the imperial regular troops and auxiliaries stationed in his province to Palamau and conquer and annex that territory[3].

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1. L.S.S.O'Malley *Palamau District Gazetteer*, pp.6-9, 18-20, 51-52.
2. Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.II, pp.248-50, 356-61.
3. *Alamgirnama*, pp.649-60.

On the receipt of the imperial order Daud Khan left Patna on 24 April 1660 for Palamau[1]. Mirza Khan, *faujdar* of Darbhanga, Tahawwar Khan, *jagirdar* of Chainpur, and Raja Bahroze, *zamindar* of Kharagpur[2], and the imperial troops, *zamindars* and provincial auxiliaries followed him. The town of Palamau was about 80 miles from Patna. There were two strong forts in the vicinity of the town, one on a neighbouring hill and the other on the plain. A big river flowed below the two forts and both of them were surrounded by the lofty hills and dense forest. Three other forts were close to the borders of the province of Bihar, viz;

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1. *Alamgirnama*, p.650.
2. The Rajas of Kharagpur (*Sarkar* Monghyr) represented one of the important families of landed aristocrats in Bihar. They figured prominently in the history of Bihar from the period of Akbar's reign to the regime of Nawab Mir Qasim. It is more worth notice that they are the only ruling family of Bihar of whom we possess a good number of dated monuments. Raja Sangram Singh, the grand-father of Raja Bahroze, numerously referred in the contemporary chronicles. He maintained friendly relations with the Mughals in the beginning when Shamsuddin Khan Khwafi, one of the important imperial officers in Bihar, was taken captive by Masum Khan Kabuli in 1580-81 and tortured to yield information about secret wealth, he escaped and sought shelter with Raja Sangram Singh. Again, during Raja Man Singh's expedition to Orissa, Sangram Singh said to have supplied a contingent of troops. He remained quiet till the end of Akbar's reign, but taking advantage of Prince Khusrau's rebellion to re-assert himself during the reign of Jahangir. Jahangir refers to him as one of the chief *Zamindars* of Bihar who possessed about 4,000 horses and innumerable foot-soldiers. He died fighting against Jahangir Quli Khan in 1606. His son Toral Mal, who subsequently accepted Islam and was renamed as Roz Afzun. He was reinstated to his ancestral chieftainship in 1613. Jahangir mentions Roz Afzun as one of the princes of *subah* Bihar. He continued to serve the Mughals loyally during Shahjahan's reign. In 1628-29 he was deputed with Mahabat Khan to repel Nazar Muhammad, the ruler of Balkh, he also served in the campaign against the Bundela Chief, Jhujjar Singh. In 1633 he assisted

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1. Kothi fort, which was at a distance of about 40 miles from palamau.

2. Kunda fort which was about 18 miles from the Kothi fort to the east ward.

3. Deo-Kan fort which was at a distance of about 25 miles from Kothi fort to the west ward[1].

So, Palamau had three forts, surrounded by dense forests and rivers, which Daud Khan had to capture one after another with great difficulty. He decided to take

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Prince Shuja in the siege of Parenda, and promoted to a rank of 2,000/1,000. Raja Bahroze was the son and successor of Raja Roz Afzun. He performed more outstanding services to the Mughal Empire and rose to eminence. He constructed a mosque at Kharagpur during the reign of Shahjahan in 1646-47. He rendered crucial help to the imperial army under Mir Jumla in the pursuit and chastisement of Prince Shuja. Since this time he continued to serve for the cause of the Mughals under Aurangzeb as well and performed distinguished service in the conquest of Palamau, and figured prominently in the negotiations of an armistics. There are two villages named Bahruzpur in pargana Shikrabadi which formed the eastern boundary of Kharagpur, which were named after Raja Bahroze. He died some time between 1674-75.
See *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, pp.261, 461, 935.
Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol.I, pp.32-33, 295-96, Vol.II, p.236.
Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol.II, pp.609-11
Badshahnama, Vol.I p.67.
Munshi Mahadeo Lal Khazanchi, *Tawarikh-i-Kharagpur Raj Darbhanga*, Mirat-ul-Hind Press, Monghyr, 1884.
M. Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol.II, p.238.
Report of the Regional Records Survey Committee, Bihar 1958-59, pp.1415.
H. Blochmann, 'Notes from Muhammadan Histories on Chotia Nagpur, Pachet and Palamau' *J.A.S.B.*, XI, 1871, pp.126-28. R. Bose, Notes on Kharagpur, *Proc. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, December, 1870, p.307.

1. Alamgirnama, p.650.

the Kothi fort first. This he did without facing any resistance, because the enemy had evacuated it on the approach of the Mughal army. The commander put the garrison in the fort for its defence and gather provisions. He, then moved towards another fort, called Kunda which was built on the top of a hill. It was strongly garrisoned and full of weapons of war and provisions of food and fodder. Though the distance from Kothi to this fort was only 20 miles, yet the route lay through dense forest, and about half way passed by a narrow defile over a high ridge. Daud Khan, had therefore, first to cut the forest and clear the road, and then to move on with his army. As soon as about two miles of the forest had been cleared, the Cheros became frightened and abandoned that fort also. Daud arrived at the fort and occupied it on 23 May 1661[1]. Realising that he could not hold the fort for long and the enemy would recapture it after his departure, Daud Khan got it dismantled. As the rains had set by this time, he decided to halt at this place, and wait till the rainy season was over before resuming operations. Between Kunda and Kothi he had mud forts erected every 6 or 7 miles. Each of these forts he garrisoned with hundred horsemen of his own, together with musketeers and some *zamindars*, with instructions to convey provisions from the base camp and to guard the road from attack.

At the end of the rainy season when it become possible to advance, Daud Khan made preparations to attack and storm Palamau itself. The local chieftain, on hearing of the approach of the invading army, made overtures of peace to Daud Khan through an emissary, offering an annual tribute, and professing loyalty to the Emperor, provided his land was vacated by the invading army. The conditions of a settlement were unacceptable to the Victor, who resolved to conquer Palamau and annex it to

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1. Alamgirnama, p.652.

the empire. On 15 October 1661 he appointed Mirza Khan to lead the van with 300 horsemen and 200 foot musketeers[1]. Tahawwur Khan with 700 horse and 300 foot, was given command of the right wing; while Shaikh Tatar, nephew of Daud Khan, with 500 horse from Daud's own contingent, together with Raja Bahroze, with 400 horse and 1,500 infantary, was given charge of left wing. In the centre was Daud Khan himself with 2,000 horse. Five hundred horsemen of his own contingent formed the rearguard[2]. The invaders numbered 6,400 strong. A number of wood cutters in charge of imperial officers and Daud's own men were ordered to clear the forest and make a road to Palamau, so that the enemy might not have cover to lay an ambush and harass the army on the march. Posts were also established along the route, and garrisoned with troops. The army advanced only a short distance each day, as they had to clear the forest and make a road as they went. Whenever they halted in the evening they threw up an entrenched camp to guard against a surprise attack by the enemy. In this way they covered about 20 miles in 9 days.

On 23 October 1661, they reached the village Narsi, 17 or 18 miles away from Palamau, and encamped there[3]. The chieftain, thoroughly alarmed by the danger, made another attempt for a settlement. In pursuit of this he sent his trusted *vakil*, Surat Singh, to Daud Khan, imploring him to withdraw. Raja Bahroze was also won over to interceded with the Khan. The chief further offered to pay one lakh of rupees as *peshkash* to the Emperor and a half lakh to Daud Khan. The latter reported the offer to the royal court, and waited a while for the emperor's reply[4]. Meanwhile he

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1. *Alamgirnama*, p.652.
2. *Alamgirnama*, p.653.
3. *Alamgirnama*, p.653.
4. *Alamgirnama*, p.654.

received information that about 14 to 15 miles from his encampment the enemy had attacked and plundered a convoy of provisions for the army. The chief apologised for this act through his *vakil*, and asserted that it had been committed without his knowledge or instructions. He further sent Rs.50,000 out of the promised *peshkash* to appease the anger of Daud Khan. But the latter did not accept the apology, and prepared to punish the offence[1].

On 21 November 1661, he advanced from Narsi and came to a valley some 7 or 8 miles from palamau fort. On 29h of the same month he moved forward a few of miles farther and encamped there. The enemy came out of the fort and took up a position at a distance of a mile from Daud's army, throwing up entrenchments and making preparations for a contest. In the meantime the emperor's reply was received which was to the effect that if the chieftain was willing to adopt Islam, his proposal should to be accepted otherwise not[2]. Daud Khan communicated this order to the chief, and waited for his reply. But the invading army was impatient to fight, and reluctant to sit idle. Before they could reply, Tahawwur Khan Birlas' launched an attack on the enemy near their entrenchment without Daud Khan's knowledge. When Daud heard of this he immediately hastened forward, and entrenched his troops at a distance of a musket's shot from the enemy's line, and then proceeded to storm their position. The fight lasted from 9 A.M. to sunset, and as Tahwwur Khan was very close to the enemy's line, 16 of his followers were killed, and many wounded. After dark the invading army retired to their encampment. In the dead of night the enemy brought up two cannons from the fort, and began to bombard the imperial

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1. Alamgirnama, p.655
2. Alamgirnama, p.655

army. Some of the men, both cavalry and infantry, and some horses were killed. As Daud's troops were on lower ground, they were at the mercy of this artillery fire. Next morning Daud Khan took the command and launched a series of raids on the enemy had taken up position on the top of a hill. He then mounted some of his own guns there, and began to bombard the enemy's lines. By the 10 December 1661 the enemy began to lose courage and retreated further back, entrenching themselves on the bank of the river, Auranga that flowed by the foot of the fort. On 13 December, when the road became clear for troops, Daud advanced and attacked the enemy's entrenchments. He deputed Shaikh Tatar and Shaikh Ahmad, his two nephews, with his own contingent, together with some of the imperial *mansabdars* and the son of Raja Bahroze with his own followers and detachment of Mirza Khan's troops. On the left wing to make on assault through the hill passes, Shaikh Safi with another detachment, was posted on the right wing, and he himself with Mirza Khan, Tahawwur Khan, Raja Bahroze, Abu Muslim, Saiyid Nijabat and a number of *mansabdars* took position at the centre. In this way the enemy forces were surrounded from three sides. The fight lasted for about six hours. Many gallant deeds were performed by Daud's troops, bringing them laurels of victory[1].

Consequently, Raja Pratap Rai emptied the fort of all stores and valuables and hurriedly sent away all his women and children into the jungle; which believing in the impregnability of the position, he himself stood his ground with a band of followers. He fought with dogged courage and resolution. The invaders, however, broke through the outer fortifications and entering the town, reached the gate of the fort and stormed it. The fight raged furiously till three hours of night had passed,

1. *Alamgirnama*, p.658.

when the besieged began to give way. About 1.30 A.M., Raja escaped through a gate leading into a jungle, and fled. Both the forts were thus captured by the Mughals and the whole country was brought under the imperial possession[1]. In this fight 61 men of the Mughal force were killed, and 177 wounded. The casualties on the other side were very heavy. After a few days the scouts brought in news that the Raja had mobilized again a new force and entered the Deokan fort. Daud Khan deputed Shaikh Safi with a detachment of troops to crush them. The latter pushed on with all speed towards Deokan and besieged the fort, when the enemy abandoned it in a panic and fled precipitately[2].

Daud Khan stayed in palamau for some time to make the necessary arrangements for the government of the country. Having got things into order, he handed over charge to Mangli Khan, who was appointed by order of the emperor to be faujdar of the new territory[3]. After this great victory, Daud Khan returned to Patna. The services of Daud Khan in accomplishing the conquest of so difficult a country were duly recognised by the emperor who not only sent him a special robe of honour but subsequently was raised to a *mansab* of 4,000 horse[4].

On his way back to Patna, Daud Khan is said to have selected a site near the old village of Anchha on the bank of the Son river in the Gaya district, to establish a post with a view to protecting the road from robbers who infested the jungle in that

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1. *Alamgirnama*, p.659.
2. *Alamgirnama*, p.660.
3. Ibid.
4. *Alamgirnama*, pp.661, 755.

vicinity. He had the jungle cut down, and submitted a plan to the Emperor, for the construction of the town called after him Daudnagar[1]. He also left a garrison of troops at the Kothi fort which after years became a considerable village. The Pathans of the place still trace their descent from the Afghan Soldiers of Daud Khan.

Unfortunately no record has been found of any change or improvement in the administration of the province introduced by Daud Khan Quraishi. His period of governorship in Bihar was full of military activities. By conquering Palamau, he extended the limits of the Empire to include Chotanagpur.

2. Peaceful Tenure of Lashkar Khan

Daud Khan's successor in Bihar was Yadgar Beg who got the title of Jannesar Khan and later of Lashkar Khan by which he is generally known[2], he took charge of Bihar on 13 February 1665. Lashkar Khan continued to rule over Bihar till the 11th year of the reign, February 1668. Certain administrative changes were made during his regime. The official historian writes that on 22 August 1666 Mangli Khan, *faujdar* of Palamau was transferred from palamau which was placed under the direct control of the Governor of Bihar, Mangli Khan received a robe of honour and his *mansab* was increased to 4,000/4,000 with 2,000 *Sawar do aspa, seh aspa*. Marhamat Khan was appointed *faujdar* of Arrah in place of Sadaat Khan, who was transferred to Gorakhpur on 1 September 1666, and the former was promoted to the rank of 2,000/900[3]. The European travellers, Bernier and Tavernier, who visited Patna during

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1. *Alamgirnama*, pp.866, 877.
2. *Alamgirnama*, p.877.
   Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol.III, pp.168-70.
3. *Alamgirnama*, p.972.

the first year of Lashkar Khan's governorship in Bihar, furnish us with many valuable details regarding the administrative divisions, land-revenue of the province, its capital, its governor, and some of the manners and customs of the people, which will be discussed in the following chapter. So the period of Lashkar Khan's governorship on the whole passed on peacefully and there was no significant political developments to be recorded by the contemporary writers.

3. Appearance of a Pretender in Bihar

After the transfer of Lashkar Khan to Multan[1], Ibrahim Khan, the son of Ali Mardan Khan was appointed in his place as governor of Bihar[2]. He administered the province from February 1668 to November 1673. In the second year of his tenure Masum Khan, son of Shahnawaz Khan, the *faujdar* of Darbhanga informed the Emperor on the 2 May 1669, that a pretender impersonating Shah Shuja' had appeared in the vicinity of Morang (west of Kuch Bihar and north of Purnea) and caused much commotion in the neighbourhood. The Emperor ordered both Ibrahim Khan and Fedai Khan, *faujdar* of Gorakhpur, to take the matter seriously and cut off the head of the man if he raised any disturbance there[3]. The campaign continued for some time, but ended in success[4].

4. Suppression of the Zamindars of Morang

The hilly country of Morang was a source of frequent trouble to the Mughal

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1. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, III, p.171.
2. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, p.298.
   Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.71.
3. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, pp.84, 150. Manucci, op.cit., II, p.193.
4. *Alamgirnama*, pp.850-875.

government. Its conquest was a matter of pride and Shuja during his governorship of Bengal, had once boasted of having conquered the Morang district.

In 1664, two forces were sent from Darbhanga and Gorakhpur to cooperate in chastising the rebel *zamindars* of Morang. Their combined efforts brought success, and they, having broken the power of the local *zamindars* of Morang, established royal authority in the area for the first time in 1664. The campaign against these *zamindars* had been devised and laid by Mirza Khan, *faujdar* of Darbhanga and Aliwardi Khan, *faujdar* of Gorakhpur, on 20 December 1664. Aliwardi Khan presented to the Emperor some precious articles, besides 14 elephants secured from Morang[1]. Early in 1676 Shaista Khan, governor of Bengal conquered Morang afresh[2]. It seems that the *zamindars* of Morang never submitted to the Mughal authorities and they remained a source of trouble and anxiety to them. It was during the last years of Aurangzeb's reign, that Murshid Quli Khan, *Diwan* of Bengal, crushed them[3].

The most important event during the regime of Ibrahim Khan was the devastating famine which took place in 1670. The European travellers, John Marshal[4], De Graffie and Thomas Bowrey arrived in India during this period and visited Bihar. They have given a graphic account of the horrible conditions caused by the famine in the towns and villages of the *subah*. This detailed information will be analysed in the context of economic history of the province.

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1. *Alamgirnama*, pp.580,875.
2. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.150.
   History of Aurangzeb, Vol.III, p.27.
3. *History of Bengal*, Vol.II, p.415.
4. John Marshall, *John Marshall in India*: Notes and Observations in Bengal ed. S.A. Khan, London, 1927, pp.10,19,150,155.

5. Bihar Under the Successors of Ibrahim Khan

Among the immediate successors of Ibrahim Khan, the author of *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* mentions the names of Mir Amir Khan and Tarbiyat Khan Barlas, the former being replaced by the latter on 18 November 1675[1]. In the 18th regnal year of Aurangzeb, Mir Khan got the title of Amir Khan and an increase in his rank of 4,000/3,000 *do aspah* and was appointed governor of Bihar. The author of *Maasir-ul-Umara* informs us that the refractory Afghan chiefs, Alam and Ismail and some others in Shahjahanpur and Kantgola, near Patna, raised the banner of revolt but eventually they were supressed by Amir Khan Mir Miran, the then governor of Bihar[2]. After the transfer of Amir Khan Mir Miran, Shafiullah Barlas, alias Tarbiyat Khan, was appointed the governor of Bihar[3]. No information in respect of the internal political history of Bihar is available for the brief tenure of Tarbiyat Khan, which was one year and few months only. He was soon transferred to *faujdari* of Tirhut and Darbhanga, previously held by Hadi Khan, on 14 April 1677. And in the same year Prince Azam, third son of the Emperor, was appointed as governor of Bihar with a grant of 5 cross *dams* by way of *Ina'm*[4]. According to the author of *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, he actually arrived at Patna on 24 July 1677[5]. His tenure of office was also a brief one for he was immediately sent to Bengal to take charge of governorship from Azam Khan Koka[6].

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1. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.148.
2. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, p.279. *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.III, p.16.
3. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.148.
4. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.151.
5. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.161.
6. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.168.

Prince Azam's place was taken by Saif-ud-Din Mahmud under the title of Saif Khan[1]. He joined in the 21st year of the Aurangzeb's reign, May 1678. He was a capable man and a connoisseur of arts and literature, a poet and a author of a book on music, named, Rag Darpan[2]. However nothing of importance seems to have happened during his tenure of governorship. He was succeeded by Safi Khan, who ruled over Bihar from 24 to 26 regnal year (1680-82). From Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's collection of *Akhbarat*, (news letters), dated 25 December 1681, it appears that Safi Khan acted as *subahdar* of Bihar. The author of *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* states that he was dismissed at the end of 1682 on charges of misappropriation of the government money, amounting to a sum of fifty six thousand rupees[3].

6. Disturbances Raised by the Local Zamindars

During the governorship of Safi Khan some local *zamindars* rose in revolt and created disturbances in some parts of the province. The government forces put them down and restored order to the relief of the people. The first such revolt was organized by one Ganga Ram[4] about whose life and activities Bhimsen, a contemporary chronicler, has given detailed information in his work, *Nuskha-i-Dilkusha*. The

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1. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.169.
   Mohammad Hadi Khan Kamwar, *Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chaghtai*, Aligarh MS. fol.265a.
2. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.II, pp.484-85.
3. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.226.
4. Stewart mentions that in 1682 Ganga Ram rose in revolt, and gathered a strong following and raided the city of Bihar. Then he advanced towards Patna where he announced that Prince Akbar who 'in the preceding year' had rebelled against his father had taken refuge with him. But this fact has not been recorded by the author of *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* or by any other contemporary writer. *History of Bengal*, p.350.

following analysis of events related to the revolt of Ganga Ram is wholly based on the evidence provided by this writer.

According to Bhimsen, Ganga Ram was a Nagar Brahaman from Gujarat, and had been friendly with him. It was an account of his friendship with him that Bhimsen secured a job for Ganga Ram under Rai Mukrand and grandson of one of his uncles. After the death of Rai Mukrand, he entered the service of Khan-i-Jahan Zafar Jung, as his diwan[1]. Ganga Ram was therefore not a *zamindar* of Bihar but an *amil* or agent of Khan-i-Jahan, who, according to Sir J.N. Sarkar "despatched him to manage his estates in Allahabad and Bihar, when he was transferred to the Deccan in 1680 as its viceroy[2]". Ganga Ram, however, antagonised his subordinate staff, increased the jeolousy of old and experienced *mutasadis*, and failed to discharge his functions to the satisfaction of his master. These accountants sent false reports of his conduct to Khan-i-Jahan, and in an attempt to dislodge him from this important position, they framed charges of embezzlement against Ganga Ram. For these reasons Khan-i-Jahan recalled Ganga Ram, but he refused to comply with the instructions and stayed on in Bihar. He managed to gather a cavalry force of 4,000 with the money he had saved, and started aggressive action against the government authorities. He first invaded Biharsharif and thoroughly sacked it and advancing farther meeting no opposition on the way, he laid seige to Patna[3]. Both Stewart and Sarkar have accused Safi Khan for his culpable negligence in maintaining sufficient contingent of troops to meet any such critical situation as had developed now. Instead of coming

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1. Bhimsen, *Nuskha-i-Dilkusha*, ff. 47a, 57b, 58a.
2. *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, p.309.
3. *Nuskha-Dilkusha*, fol.79a.

rebellious *zamindar* had been subdued and captured, but was treated leniently by the Emperor in view of his position and status.

7. Appearance of Another Pretender in Bihar

The most important event which occured during the time of Safi Khan's governorship of Bihar, was the rebellion of Zain-ul-Abidin, who claimed himself as the son of Prince Shuja. This information is based on some of the original letters contained in the volumes of *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*. The revolt according to these letters approximately continued for about two years, 1682 and 1683 which coincided with the 25th and 26th year of Aurangzeb's reign.

The relevant news letters which throw lights on the events are five in number, and an attempt has been made here to analyse them.

The first letter[1], dated 11 Muharram 1093, 25th regnal year corresponding to 10 January 1682 A.D. addressed by Safi Khan to Emperor informing him that Zainul Abidin who had declared a son of Shuja, collected two thousand men and created trouble in the district. Therefore, Abdus Salam, the son of this obedient servant [i.e. Safi Khan] was sent with a contingent to chastise the pretender. A battle followed in which many people from both sides were killed and wounded. In the end Abdus Salam succeeded in capturing Zainul Abidin alive through a stratagem. Necessary order may be issued as to what should be done to the captive. In reply to the petition,

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1. L.D.S. Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, 1922 ed. Vol. (1600-1799), p.166. cd. B.P. Ambasthya, Some letters from *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* on the Rebellion of Zainul Abedin, the son of Prince Shuja, in Bihar, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1967, pt.I, pp.158-61.

Safi Khan was urged to send the prisoner to the royal court.

The second letter, dated 24 Safar, 1093, Friday, 25th regnal year 22 February 1682, was also addressed by Safi Khan to the Emperor. It records that Zainul Abdin, the false son of Shuja, the unchivalrous, was in the prison and according to royal orders he shall send him to the court under the custody of any body who might be nominated by the Emperor. He was directed to send him under the custody of Bunyad Beg, the former *qiladar* of Monghyr. The *faujdars* of the districts should take care to escort the party safely upto the borders of their respective districts.

The third letter[1], dated 26 Shawwal 1094 26 regnal year 8 October 1683, records that a report from the province of Bihar reached the emperor to the effect that Zainuddin, the alleged son of Shuja', who was imprisoned by Safi Khan had escaped, and in the pursuit of him the governor incurred an expenditure of Rs.One Lakh without the prior permission of the Emperor. The Emperor asked Ruhullah Khan[2] to inquire into the details of the irregular expenses through the *bakhshi* of *subah* Bihar.

The fourth letter, dated 22 Safar, 1094, 26 regnal year 10 February 1683, records that the petition of Buzurg Ummed Khan, the new governor of Bihar, was presented to the Emperor. It stated that Zainuddin who escaped from the prison of Safi Khan had taken refuge with Raj Gadh a rebel *zamindar*. The humble servant sent to Zainuddin a concocted letter under the forged seal of a *zamindar* of that area

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1. *Indian Ephemeris, Vol.*(1600-1799), 1922, edn., p.168.
2. He was the son of Khalilullah Khan of Yazd, and a son-in-law of Amir-ul-Umara Shaista Khan and became the favourite of Aurangzeb, and raised to the rank of 1,500 with the title of Khan in 1661. Later he served as *Mir Bakhshi* of the *ahadis*. See for details, *Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol.2, pt.II, pp.611-12.*

requesting him to come over the house of *zamindar* Sahu at the gate of the city where he would be received and helped in his cause. Some trusted policemen were posted to the aforesaid house so that the moment Zainuddin arrived there, they could inform him. The ruse worked and the fool fell into the trap. When Zainuddin moved towards the gate of the city, he along with officers immediately rushed towards the place and arrested him. The Emperor expressed his appreciation of the achievement made by the governor of Bihar and asked that facts relating to this interesting episode should be further investigated and verified.

The fifth letter[1] dated Ist Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1094, 26th regnal year 18 February 1683, records that the petition of the *vakil* of Amir-ul-Umara was placed before the Emperor to the effect that Buzurg Ummed Khan, governor of Bihar, had properly conducted a campaign aided by a force and won success by capturing Zainuddin. The Emperor, in recognition of the service, bestowed favours on the governor of Bihar. Formerly he held the rank of 2,500/1,500 *do aspa* out of which 2,000 *zat* and 1,000 *sawars* were unconditional. Now of the conditional aforesaid *mansab*, the rank of 500 *zat* and 200 *sawars* was further made unconditional in his favour.

So, on the basis of these news-letters it may be concluded that this rebellion had cost Safi Khan dearly, and he was consequently dismissed on charges of financial irregularities.

Safi Khan was succeeded by Buzurg Ummed Khan as governor of Bihar in 1683. Nothing very important happened during his long tenure of twelve years,

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1. *Indian Ephemeris,* Vol. (1600-1799), p.168.

1682-1694.

The author of *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* states that Buzurg Ummed Khan was transferred from Bihar to Allahabad on 1 Zi-qad 1103 July 1692 but later on it informs that Buzurg Ummed Khan died on 8 Rajab 1106, 13 February 1695; Atiqad Khan and Abul Ma'ali, brothers of the deceased, were given robes of mourning; and Fidai Khan *subahdar* of Allahabad transferred to Bihar[1]. But the version of Akhbarat dated December 1694 is a bit different. They record that 'orders were issued to Mukhtar Khan, *subahdar* of Bihar to escort Prince Muazzam', so he was transferred from Bihar to Agra.

The author of *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* is silent about the events pertaining to the regim of Fidai Khan which lasted from 1695 to March 1702. But the *Akbharat* furnished us with some information. In the 39th regnal year 12 January, 1695 a *farman* with a *khilat* was sent to Fidai Khan from the court and on 12 January, 1696 he was promised an increase of 500 in his rank on condition of holding the *faujdari* of Tirhut in addition to the governorship of the province. It is also corroborated by the author of *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* that in the 44 regnal years, he was appointed *faujdar* of Tirhut and Darbhanga in addition to the *subahdari* of Bihar with a *mansab* of 2,500/2,500[2].

The *Akhbarat*, dated 7 June 1699[3] record that the *vakil* or agent of Fidai Khan submitted that the *Banjaras* or grain sellers had created disturbance in the

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1. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri,* pp.348, 369.
2. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri,* p.433.
3. *Akhbarat-i-Darbar Mualla,* Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar Collection. Microfilm No.259, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh.

region of Tirhut and requested that if Sepahdar Khan, *jagirdar* and *faujdar* of the place, was urged upon to cooperate with him, he was sure to inflict condign punishment on the trouble-makers. On 3 October 1699, accordingly orders were issued to Fidai Khan to undertake the punitive expedition against the *banjaras* who had disturbed the peace in Tirhut, and he should prepare a detailed note on management of that district and send to the court under his seal.

There is one more evidence that on 22 December 1701, a petition of Fidai Khan, *Nazim* of Bihar, was submitted saying that his son, Muslihuddin was not amenable to his advice and therefore, he should be summoned to the court for correction. So orders were issued that a mace-bearer should be sent to bring him in the court. However, after the perusal of *Akhbarat* information it may be concluded that Fidai Khan remained as Governor of Bihar till 1702 when he was replaced by Shamsher Khan[1].

On 21 November 1701 Shamsher Khan was appointed *faujdar* of Tirhut in place of Fidai Khan in addition to the *faujdari* of Shahabad. A very important event recorded in the *Akhbarat*, dated 8 March 1702 "An occurance in Bihar was reported that Shamsher Khan who had been transferred from the *faujdari* of Shahabad and Tirhut to the *Subahdari* of Oudh had already invested the fort of Baranwan, the strong hold of mischievous Kuar Dhir. When the seige had lasted for one month, Shamsher Khan made an assault upon the fort with result that in the night the said mischievous fellow abandoned the fort and effected his escape. The action was approved." The aforesaid Kuar Dhir was an important figure of Bihar because he

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1. S.H. Askari, Bihar in the Time of Aurangzeb, *J.R.O.R.S.* 1946, pt.II, pp.171-72.

caused much trouble to the Mughals in Bihar. He was directly descended from the famous Gajjan Sahi or Raja Gajpati of Akbar's days. They were the leading *zamindars* of the Bhojpur area and often caused great trouble to the Mughal administration in their country. The principality of Bhojpur having devolved on the direct descendants of Raja Sangram Sahi, a step brother of Gajjan Sahi, to Kuar Dhir's forefathers and they had been allowed only the *zamindari* of Baranwan in *Pargana* Pero (Shahabad) for maintenance. The revenue of the *zamindari* having fallen in arrears under his father. Kuar Dhir also adopted rebellious attitude and hesitate himself to pay the arrears. So ultimately, he was made captive and taken to Delhi as a hostage. Later he was released then he began together troops and defied the local offical of *paragna* Pero and defeated them. The memory of an official, named Ziauddin, is still preserved and his tomb at Pero is known as that of Pir Jawudi, who was killed by Kuar Dhir. He is also said to have reduced many of *zamindars* of Saran, Champaran and Gaya and his depredations extended upto Jhusi near Allahabad. He also crossed swords with Raja of Majhauli, built a fortress at Barahj in the dense and impenetrable jungle of Gorakhpur, and frequently measured his strength with the Mughal officials in Bihar[1].

It seems that when the emperor being informed the affairs of the Kaur Dhir and the valour and gallantry shown by Shamsher Khan in defeating him and capturing his stronghold, he cancelled the orders of Shamsher Khan's transfer to Oudh. We learn from an information in the Akhbarat dated 10 March 1702, that

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1. The whole of this paragraph is practically based on a critical examination of the contents of Munshi Vinayak Prasad, *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainia*, Vol.III, (Urdu) Published by Nawal Kishore press, Lucknow, 1898 and now out of print and preserved at Oriental Public Library, Patna, pp.2-25.

Shamsher Khan was not only allowed to retain, as before, the *faujdar* of Shahabad and Tirhut but was also ordered to take charge of the *Subahdari* of the whole province from Fidai Khan who was transferred to Oudh and subsequently, to Allahabad. However, his period of Governorship of Bihar was a short one and in January 1703, he was transferred to Muazzamabad (Oudh) as its *subahdar*.

8. Subahdari of Prince Azim-ush-Shan

The province of Bihar was conferred on prince Azim-ush-Shan, the grand son of emperor who had been incharge of the viceroyalty of Bengal and Kuch Bihar since 1696 A.D.[1]

The Prince Azim-ush-Shan has been described as lazy and covetous. He was more interested in private trade, which he called *Sauda-i-Khas*, than in administering the government efficiently[2]. *Sauda-i-Khas* implied forcible purchasing goods cheaply and then selling them in the market at fancy prices. The Prince was sharply rebuked by the emperor for the same[3].

A very important official, named Kartalab Khan who after effectively serving in the revenue department of the Deccan, was appointed as diwan of Bengal and *faujdar* of Makhsusabad (later Murshidabad) in 1700 A.D.[4] In the following year he became *diwan* of Orissa and *faujdar* of Midnapore and Orissa. He was also

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1. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.387, 470.
2. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p.243.
3. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p.244.
4. *History of Bengal*, Vol.II, p.399.

appointed as *diwan* of Prince Azim-ush-Shan's *Jagir*[1]. According to Salimullah, Kartalab Khan's expedient management in revenue affairs soon raised Bengal to the highest degree of prosperity[2].

In January, 1703, he was given the title of Murshid Quli Khan and appointed as *subahdar* of Orissa[3]. Finally in January, 1704, Murshid Quli Khan was appointed the *diwan* of Bihar in addition to all his other posts[4]. Thus, holding an important position in three *subahs* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Murshid Quli Khan enjoyed supreme influence with the imperial government till the last days of Aurangzeb. But the relation between Azim-ush-Shan and Murshid Quli Khan was not remained cordial, because the latter did not allow him to interfere in revenue matters. This led to the outbreak of personal jealously between them. Azim-ush-Shan attempted to murder him but the conspiracy failed through Murshid Quli's courage and tact. He removed the revenue office from Dacca to Makhsusabad and renamed the city Murshidabad after himself[5].

At this juncture, the Emperor ordered Prince Azim-ush-Shan to come to Bihar, and for the next three years (1704-7), he lived at Patna[6].

Inayatullah Khan, the author of *Ah-kam-i-Alamgiri* who was appointed Aurangzeb's private secretary in 1702, informs us about the affairs of the province during the stay of the Prince Azim-ush-Shan.

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1. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.483.
2. Salimullah, *Tawarikh-i-Bengal*, fol.26.
3. *History of Bengal*, Vol.II, p.404.
4. *History of Bengal*, Vol.II, p.404.
5. *Riaz-us-Salatin*, p.252.
6. *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.V, p.377.

Inayatullah Khan writes to the Prince Azim-ush-Shan on behalf of the Emperor, that "I have placed before his Majesty your news letter which reveals your successful administration of the *Subah* of Bihar and Bengal. He also includes that you have rightly punished the rebels, the destruction of their forts and specially your activities against Kuar Dhir which led to his suppression and flight to refuge at Allahabad. Later he further writes, that the Emperor has learnt about the submission of Kuar Dhir, the visit of his son to you and demolishing his fortifications around the fort of Rohtas[1]. But unfortunately, we know of no, other source to corroborate and elucidate the matter referred above. The author of *Tawarikh-Ujjainiya* is absolutely silent on this issue about the defeat and submission of Kuar Dhir by Prince Azim-ush-Shan.

Inayatullah Khan, in a letter to the Prince writes that "the Emperor sanctioned the proposal of his favourite grandson to name Patna as 'Azimabad'. The Prince Azim-ush-Shan made extensive repairs to the fort of Patna and renovated it. Towards the end of 1706, Azim-ush-Shan was recalled to the imperial court, leaving Sarbuland Khan[2] as the Deputy Governor in Bihar, he left for the Deccan. Khafi Khan writes that on reaching Azimabad, Sarbuland Khan set out for the chastisement of Kuar Dhir, a seditious zamindar of Bhojpur and after a protracted struggle and great exertion, put him to flight. As he was running away, he was wounded and died[3].

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1. Inayatullah Khan, *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, Patna, Ms. ff.19a, 20b.
2. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, pp.804-6.
   Riyaz-us-Salatin, p.252.
3. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol.II, pp.768-69.

CHAPTER - III

BIHAR UNDER THE LATER MUGHALS, 1707 - 1765 A.D.

The 18th century is a dark and dismal period in the annals of Indian History marked by political disorder, administrative breakdown, economic decline and moral and cultural degradation. The order and the unity that had been preserved for about three centuries in India by the Mughal Rule disappeared after the death of Aurangzeb. This was a tragic period caused by a number of disintegrating factors which followed as a logical sequel to the decline of central political authority and lack of sound governance. The disappearance of the political unity and the administrative order which followed the rapid decline of the Mughal empire generated various centrifugal tendencies which accentuated the crisis in all walk of life. There is a general unanimity among modern historians on seeing the disintegration of Mughal Empire as a notable phenomenon of the eighteenth century. The discord of views relates to the classification and explanation of historical processes behind it, and also to the interpretation and articulation of its impact on political and socio-economic conditions of the country. Most historians sought to explain the imperial crisis from the angle of medieval society in general, relating it to the character and quality of people, and the roles of the different classes. They have laid emphasis on the inquiry into deeper causes of the decreasing social surplus for distribution amongst the governing classes leading to ethnic and regional frictions among them. They have further stressed the need to explore the historical factors responsible for a steady deterioration in the economic condition, of actual producers, the changing patterns

of relationship between *zamindars* and political authorities, and failure of government in maintaining direct contacts with small landowners and resident (*Khud-Kasht*) cultivators. The researches made in this direction though reflecting divergent formulations have in effect rendered obsolete the perspective of historiography of Medieval India from the conventional paradigams of chronological narrative of events moving in recurrent cycles around royalty, nobility, clergy as well as wars and revolts, and called for a thorough investigation and objective analysis of all possible dimensions of the socio-economic forces.

Latterly, scholarly attention has been attracted towards a portrayal of 18th century in its own distinctive image independently of the phenomnon of Mughal decline, and to see it as a consequence of continuing process of economic growth in seventeenth century. Following to this idea the disintegration of Mughal empire did not produce destabilising effects on the country's trade and commerce, its markets, towns and monetary systems; but on the contrary generated forces of regeneration and growth throughout India[1]. Through distribution of urban economies and collaboration of Indian merchants, bankers and traders with the East India Company the agricultural and industrial production was further stimulated. The continuity in the economic development was thus maintained without being interrupted by the establishment of British imperial power in the latter half of the 18th century[2]. Frank Perlin, in his laboriously researched monograph has viewed the problem of India's

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1. Z.U. Malik, 'The Core and the Periphery : A contribution to the Debate on the Eighteenth Century' Presidential address, Indian History Congress 51st Session, Calcutta, 1990, p.1.
2. C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazars*, 1983, pp.12, 14, 25-26, 36-37, 68-70.

pre-colonial past in the context of international commercial capitalism of which, he claims, it had become an essential part even during the 17th century[1]. Local merchant capitalism emerged independently in India as in Europe but "within a common international theatre and societal and commercial changes". He hastens to add that "but by the 18th century the process of integration is of an altogether different scale and character". Andre Wink has tried to discover elements of continuity between 17th and 18th centuries in the systems of polity and governance[2]. He states that under the Mughals no state had come into being or grown to the full stature of nation state so as to decay or wither away later. The Mughal state should not be seen as a consolidated territorial entity with geographically fixed boundaries, comprising within its limits a homogeneous community of people. One should not be overawed by anarchic conditions prevailing in 18th century because such a state had always existed in the preceding one in which Mughal state expanded and thrived. J.P. Marshall has attempted to identify features of change and continuity in most aspects of agrarian systems existing in the pre-colonial and post British periods of 18th century Bengal and Bihar. He concludes.

> "Thus there was an apparent continuity between the old Mughal regime and the new British one".[3]

But Z.U. Malik says that in this vision of 18th century the centre is blank. No study has focussed on the position occupied by the actual tillers of the soil and producers

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1. Frank Perlin, 'Proto-Industrialization and Pre-colonial South Asia', Past and Present, 1983, pp.30, 32, 81, 88.
2. Andre Wink, *Land and Sovereignty in India*, 1986, pp.34, 38, 41, 158.
3. J.P. Marshall, *The New Cambridge History of India*, 1987, II - 2, p.135.

of artisnal goods as crucial elements of the internal economic structure and activity. The questions how the agricultural and professional classes were materially benefitted, and in what manner their living conditions were improved by the continuing productivity have not been dealt with on the basis of statistical data to complete the picture of general economic prosperity. Irfan Habib remarks that "the primary method of surplus - extraction throughout India had come to be the levy of land revenue on behalf of or, in the name of, the Sovereign Ruler".[1] After the colonial conquest of Bengal and Bihar, he adds "the source of the conquerors profits, however, lay not in commerce, but in land revenue. Maximization of land revenue was necessary for the maximization of profits." Marshall also admits that 'taxation was the central preoccupation of early British rule, but its magnitude, modes of assessment and collection and incidence are the chief characteristics that so sharply contrast with the nature of revenue management of former regime in Bengal. From a careful examination of contemporary source material three major points of difference emerge on comparative basis which were not taken into consideration by Marshal: 1. under the *Nizamat* (1717 - 1756) the holding of defaulting *zamindars* were not put to auction for sale; these were brought under the direct control of government and afterwards restored to them on the pledge of regular payment of dues, 2. no Mughal governor of Bengal and Bihar had introduced the system of revenue - farming on the scale indulged in by the East India Company; and 3. in judicial matters the principle of arbitration was preferred to resolve agrarian and fiscal disputes over endless and complicated litigation in courts of law. Moreover, the magnitude of revenue demand which had

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1. Irfan Habib, 'Colonization of Indian Economy', 1757-1900, *Social Scientist*, 1975 pp.24-26.

reached the highest pitch, from Rs.64.5 lakhs in 1762-63 under the *Nizamat*, to Rs.147.0 lakhs in 1765-66 (an increase of 20% according to the estimate of Marshall) proved disastrous for the country side.[1] Large tracts of lands became desolate and the peasantry reduced to poverty, abandoned cultivation and deserted their villages. An eighteenth century historian Ghulam Husain Tabatabi says that the artisans and other professional classes experienced great hardship due to dearth of work." They were fleeing from place to place in search of employment, many of them were starving and reduced to beggary"[2]. Tribute or Drain of wealth that followed the famous Plunder of Plassey, of which over taxation was a necessary facet, impoverished the country and retarded socio-economic progress during the latter part of the eighteenth century[3].

Now, in the succeeding pages a detailed account of the political developments and other related aspects pertaining to the province of Bihar of the period under review is being furnished.

1. Bihar under Bahadur Shah I and Jahandar Shah, 1707 - 1712.

During the period under discussion Bihar figured for a short while in the foreground of the general political history of the country some of the events which occured during the beginning of the period - the recall of Prince Azim - ush - Shan, governor of Bihar and Bengal by the emperor Aurangzeb, the activities of

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1. *The New Cambridge History of India,* op.cit., p.140.
2. Ghulam Husain Tabatabai, *Siyar-ul-Mutaakherin*, pp.836-37; *Risala-i-Zira'at*, Edinburgh University Lib. MS. No.144.
3. Irfan Habib, *Social scientist*, op. cit. pp.25-26; See also Irfan Habib, 'Studying a colonial economy without perceiving colonialism', *Modern Asian Studies*, 19, 3, 1985, pp.355-381.

Azim-ush-Shan's son, Farrukh Siyar at Patna, where on hearing of Bahadur Shah's death (1712) he first proclaimed his father's accession and then, his own under very dramatic circumstances, the espousal of the apparently lost cause of Farrukh Siyar by the deputy governor of Bihar, Syed Husain Ali Khan, the march of Farrukh Siyar's small, ill - organised army from Patna to make a bid for the throne of Delhi, all these events find prominent mention in the contemporary chronicles. As a whole, the information available for the period looks rather scrappy.

There are scattered references to the events in Bihar in some of the contemporary Persian Chronicles and collections of letters, relating mostly to the campaigns which the *subadars* waged against some of the local *zamindars*. The *Akhbarat* provide valuable supplementary details, and throw some light on the actual working of the provincial government. The private collections of records belonging to some of the leading *zamindar* families of Bihar[1] constitute a largely untapped source of information. The English records - the correspondence between the council of the Patna Factory and that of Fort William on the one hand, and the correspondence between the Calcutta council and the court of Directors[2], on the other constitute another important category of source material. They provide detailed information about the commercial activities of the English in Bihar, which represents a significant new development during the period.

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1. Rajas of Darbhanga, Dumraon, Bettiah had fairly well maintained record rooms. Printed accounts of these families based partly on the respective family collections are also available like *Ain-i-Tirhut, Tawarikh-i-Ujjainiya*, Vols. I-IV, 1898, G.N. Dutt, *'History of the Hathwa Raj, J.A.S.B.* Vol. LXXIII, 1904, pp. 178-226.
2. See C.R. Wilson, *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, 1704-1722, London and Calcutta, 1895 - 1917.

During the last days of Aurangzeb (March, 1707) some administrative arrangements were made in regard to eastern provinces, including Bihar. Prince Azim-ush-Shan who had acquired much wealth and fame in Bihar was recalled to the Deccan at the instigation of Prince Azam who had become jealous of his nephew[1]. On the way to the Deccan, Prince Azim got the news of the death of Aurangzeb. He played an important role in securing the throne for his father, Bahadur Shah. S.H. Askari has suggested that during Prince Azim's absence from Bihar, the *subah* was administered by one Syed Husain Khan, who may be identified Syed Husain, entitled Imtiaz Khan and poetically surnamed Khalis, the grandfather of Nawab Mir Qasim.[2] It is also corroborated by an Akhbar of first regnal year of Bahadur Shah's reign (1707) which records the appointment of Syed Husain as *Bakhshi Waqainawis* in Bihar and the conferment of the title of Imtiaz Khan on him. Another *Akhbar* of the same year records that Syed Husain Khan was replaced by Muhammad Naqi, son of Saadat Khan and transferred as qaladar of Monghyr with a bestowal of *mansab* of 700 *zat* and 20 *sawars*.

After the accession of Bahadur Shah, Prince Azim-ush-Shan's power and influence grew much. He continued to be the *Subadar* of Bihar and deputed Syed Husain Ali Khan his *naib* or Deputy in Bihar (1708), while his elder brother Syed Hasan Ali Khan was despatched to Allahabad. These two famous Syed brothers, the future king - makers of Delhi were destined to play a decisive role in the accession of Farrukh Siyar, the son of Prince Azim. Husain Ali Khan had fought valiantly on his

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1. Khafi Khan, *Muntakhabul Lubab*, Persian text, Bibliotheca Indica series, Vol.II, Calcutta p.546.
2. S.H. Askari, 'Bihar in the first quarter of the Eighteenth Century', *I.H.C.* Proc. 1941.

side in the battle of Jajau (June 1707) as *Naib Subadar* of Bihar and he was bestowed with a *mansab* of 3500 *Zat*, 2000 *sawars* with 900 *sawars mashrut* (conditional). Syed Husain Ali Khan held the post with a break in 1709, till 1712 when he got independent charge of Bihar and appointed Ghairat Khan, his sister's son as his deputy[1]. However, the period of Husain Ali Khan's governorship of Bihar was characterized by a strong, efficient and vigorous administration. With the help of competent officers he subdued the rebel and defaulting *Zamindars*, specially the Ujjainiyas of Bhojpur. It was towards the end of his governorship, the province of Bengal which was being governed by Farrukh Siyar as *naib* of his father prince Azim-ush-Shan was transferred to Azud Daula in 1710-11 and Farrukh Siyar came down to Patna, camped at the famous Bagh Jafar Khan and subsequently at Bagh Afzal and reportedly began to plunder the Khalsa lands[2] and illegally exacted huge money from the English traders. Due to Farrukh Siyar's initiative, one of his officers managed to occupy the important fort of Rohtas. The fort had been occupied by Riayat Khan alias Syed Muhammad Razi by duplicity and the use of forged documents. Farrukh Siyar had been ordered to reoccupy the fort, but he lacked adequate resources, and planned a counter strategem[3]. Q. Ahmad says that one Lachin Beg[4], an out of

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1. The English records refer to Sarbuland Khan as the new governor in May 1709 and to his dismissal in November the same year.
   See C.R. Wilson, op.cit. Vol.I, pp.317, 324.
2. *Muntakhab-al-Lubab*, Vol.II, p.707.
3. *Muntakhab-al-Lubab* Vol.II, pp.708 - 710. This event is also recorded in an *Akhbar* dated 6 *Julus* (January 1712) of Bahadur Shah, which mentions the role of Abdullah Khan, *Subadar* of Allahabad, too, in this affair.
4. Q. Ahmad, *Comprehensive History of Bihar*, Vol.II, p.196 Lachin Beg was bestowed with the title of Bahadur Dil Khan for this feat. Later, during the reign of Farrukh Siyar, the fort of Rohtas was re-named Farrukh Nagar (*Akhbar* dated 3 Julus (March 1719) of Farrukh Siyar.

[illegible] to help her son. A strong army of more than 30,000 *sawars* under the supervision of Khwaja Asim (the future *Khan-i-Dauran*),

chief, Sudhist Narain. It is reported that Farrukh Siyar's financial position was not sound and he required the articles worth 3-4 lakhs rupees from the merchants of Patna for meeting out expenses.

During the brief reign of Jahandar Shah, according to an Akhbar dated I Julus of Jahandar Shah (July 1712) Nusrat Khan, a new *Subadar* of Bihar was appointed and he reported that Surat Singh, son of Jagat Singh was well acquainted with the *Zamindars* and being a useful person desired to obtain the title of Rai. However, he was awarded with the enhanced *mansab* (rank) of 500 *Zat*. It is worth mentioning that it illustrates the Mughal government's policy of winning over the favourably disposed local *zamindars* by offering them *mansab*, titles etc.

2. Farrukh Siyar's Reign and Bihar 1713 - 1719 A.D.

Farrukh Siyar's self-proclaimed accession at Patna would have remained an empty gesture but for his crucial victory at Agra (December 1712). However, he seems to have taken the proclamation seriously, and after his enthronement at Delhi (February 1713) he instructed the *Waqia Nigars* to treat the reign of Jahandar Shah as non-existent for counting the commencement of his reign from the day of his accession at Patna. The day, a *chahar Shanba* (Wednesday) was to be called *mubarak* (auspicious) *Shanba*.[1]

During the reign of Emperor Farrukh Siyar the province of Bihar was governed by Ghairat Khan (1712 - 14), Mir Jamla (1715), Sarbuland Khan (1716-18)

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1. *Tazkira-i-Salatin-i-Chaghta*, ff.370-370b.

and Khan Zaman Khan (1718-19)[1]. References to some events of this period are noticed in the contemporary *akhbarat* as well as the English records. News papers informations relate to matters of different types, political, administrative and economic, taken as a whole they throw some light on the working of the provincial government. The English records relate mainly to the commercial activities of the East India Company. An *Akhbar* dated June 1715 records that Mir Jumla after his arrival at Patna took steps to alleviate the panic in the town on account of the disturbances raised by Sudhist Narayan and other *zamindars* and the depradations of thieves and vagabonds. Mir Jumla appointed Sidi Qaim as *Kotwal* of Patna city, and deputed to ensure that gambling and thefts must be checked. He was further directed to check that none should be allowed to collect anything over and above the sanctioned revenue; and the *zamindars* did not collect arms. An *Akhbar* dated 4th Julus of Farrukh Siyar's reign (June 1715) informs that on entering the city Mir Jumla distributed rupees one thousand amongst the poor townsmen, held court, and performed obeisance to the throne[2]. Since Mir Jumla was more interested in the court politics at Delhi, hence after making a few unsuccessful attempts to obtain permission for his calling back to Delhi, he left Patna abruptly within a short time of his arrival there. He was succeeded by Sarbuland Khan, whose appointment, and that of his son, Khanazad Khan as *faujdar* of Shahabad is recorded in the 4th regnal year[3]. It is recorded that next year Sarbuland Khan was also given the charge of the *faujdari* of Jaunpur as an appanage of the governorship of Bihar (*ba zamima-i-Subadari - i- Patna Azimabad*) and Gridhar

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1. *Comprehensive History of Bihar,* Vol.II, p.197.
2. S.H. Askari (ed.) *Shah Nawa Munawwar Kalam,* Patna, 1968, pp.7-19, 30.
3. *Tazkira-i-Salatin-i-Chaghta* f.378

Bahadur, *faujdar* posted there, was transferred to Benaras[1].

Sarbuland Khan led severl military expeditions against the local *zamindars*. Sudhist Narayan son of Dhir Ujjainiya rebelled in October 1715 and having raised a force of 16000 *Sawars* dared to loot the highways in Bhojpur area and tried to capture the *thanas* of Sasaram. He raised a more serious disturbance in October 1717 when he successfully besieged Alam Beg the *qaladar* of Arrah fort. Governor of Bihar, Sarbuland Khan deputed his deputy, Muhammad Qaim Bakhshi and Muhammad Naim, darogha of artillery alongwith a force, and the rebels were utterly defeated. Consequently, the ten *garhis* occupied by them were brought under control and imperial *thanas* set up there[2]. Sarbuland Khan settled the *parganas* of Sher and Shergauty, below the Hills, with the assistance of Irja Agoury son of Sulaiman Qanungo[3]. He then proceeded towards the Hills, and Raja Nagbunshy Singh, *Zamindar* of Nagpur, to whom the *ghatwals* of Palamou, *Ramgarh* and *Badamy* were subordinates, sent his agent Bedman Das Tacoor through the mediation of Irja Agoury, and agreed to pay a *nazrana* (presents) of 1 lakh of which 45000 was to be in 'specids' and the rest in diamonds[4]. The settlement of Sher and Akowrie, Datars, and Koodida, situated below the ghats, was materialised with Mirza Aziz Khan, a Rohilla, and

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1. Ibid., f.381.
2. *Akhbar* dated 5th *Julus* (October 1717).
3. Q. Ahmad, 'A Historical Account of Chota Nagpur in the 18th century by Raja Shitab Rai', *Journal of Historical Research*, Ranchi, Vol.III, 1960, pp.1-13.
4. We may recall here Emperor Jahangir's reference to the diamonds of this area of Bihar, and his detailed account of the manner in which they were collected from the sandybed of a local river.
   See *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, Vol.I, 1909, pp.315-16, Vol.II, p.22.

Agoury Amean Singh for Rs.35000 to be paid at Patna. During the later times, it has been observed that these arrangements do not seem to have proved effective or lasting. The succeeding governors could not collect the tribute until defeated them.

An *Akhbar* dated 1715 reports that Hari Singh, *Zamindar* of *Pargana* Dharampur had raised a fort close to *Pargana* Sajapur, *Sarkar* Purnea and the adjoining imperial *parganas* were also being under his control, and collecting *rahdari* (road-taxes). It was suggested that the *zamindar* of Morang (sub-Himalayan tract in the north - eastern borders of Bihar) should be asked not to provide any help to Hari Singh. and to arrest him. However, it appears from a subsequent *Akhbar* that the *zamindar* of Morang too had raised disturbances in Baqipur, *Sarkar* Purnea, and appropriated cattle from villages near the thana of *Pargana* Sultanpur. Dalilullah Khan. the *faujdar* of Purnea collected some troops to chastise him, but Jafar Khan, the *nazim* of Bengal, did not seem to be happy with him for opening hostilities with a bordering *zamindar* without his prior approval. Once the *faujdar* of Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) reported in 1716 that Ram Singh, *Zamindar* of Nijwara who had been appointed for guarding the town and the highways had retired to his home on the hill's and was not protecting the highways although he held jagirs for the payment of *sawars* and *zat*.

Sarbuland Khan appears to have been one of the more effective and efficient governor of the period under review. He was assisted by several able subordinate officers as their appointments are found recorded in the *Akhbarat* of that period. Ghulam Husain, the contemporary historian of Bihar says that Abdullah Khan who rendered distinguished services was a man of consequence in those parts, who

seemed to be the main hinge of all government business in that province, for he had for a length of time been always employed by every Governor either as his deputy or as a general farmer of revenue. He had connections with almost all the *zamindars* and had acquired the goodwill of troops as well as of every individual in the province of Bihar, where he was universally respected[1]. He lived in a house which he had bought with his own money at Azimabad[2]. The author of *Hadiqatul Aqalim* also refers to his devotedness and bravery in the campaign against the Ujjainiyas.

In February 1718 Sarbuland Khan was recalled to the court, and in view of the group rivalries at the court Bihar was offered to the *wazir*, Nizamul Mulk, with hope that the charge would exhaust his resources and render him weak, but the events leading to the deposition of Farrukh Siyar changed the situation and the *Nizam* went to Malwa, instead. However, the province of Bihar suffered by the early transfer of such an able ruler like Sarbuland Khan. He was succeeded by Khan Zaman Khan (1718-21), the governor of Awadh. There are some references in the English records to his compaigns against the Ujjainiyas and in the Bhagalpur area.

3. Suba Bihar in the time of Muhammad Shah, 1719 -1733.

The palace intrigues of Emperor Muhammad Shah and the leaders of the party opposing the Syed brothers finally brought matters to a head. *Qutub-al-Mulk* was defeated and captured at the battle of Hasanpura (1720). Nusrat Yar Khan, a relative of the Syed Brothers, who had fought against them and took the side of

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1. *Siyar-al-Mutaakhirin* (Eng. tr.), Calcutta, 1902, Vol.I, pp.272-3.
2. The present Imam Bandi *waqf* building at Gulzar Bagh stands on the site.

Mohammad Shah was rewarded with the governorship of Bihar. He probably did not come to Bihar himself but governed through his deputy Abdul Rahim Khan.

An interesting evidence showing the role of public openion in matters of governmental appointments took place during this period. Q. Ahmad cites that the *Qanungo* of *Pargana* Sasaram was held in virtual heredity by the ancestors of Muhammad Masih, Shaikh Hafiz, Shobhachand and others since the time of Akbar, and that some local weavers, Musa, Shero and Zahuri, who were tenants of Shobha Chand. had quarrelled with him about the land rent and having accused him, interalia, of desecrating mosques and tombs, they had managed to get the 'strangers'Muhammad Najib and Bahroze of Chausa Suba Allahabad, appointed as *Qanungos*[1]. This had happened in the 3rd Julus of (1715) in Farrukh Siyar and was further confirmed in Ist *Julus* (1719) of Emperor Muhammad Shah. Subsequently, it appears from the records, the nobility and tenantry of the *Pargana* Submitted a *mahzarnama* (statement on oath, attested by local gentry) to the effect that new *Qanungos* harassed and oppressed them and that they were happy with the conduct of the previous ones who properly discharged their work and looked after the improvement of the conditions of the local people. Consequently, an order dated 4 *Julus* and bearing the seal of *Nizamul Mulk* was issued to the governor Nusrat Yar Khan that the previous *Qanungos* be restored. The case shows that public openion often played a part in government appointments and asserted itself successfully.

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1. Q. Ahmad, "Public Openion as a Factor in Government Appointment in the Mughal State", *I.H.R.C.* Proceedings, 1955, pp.142-47.

Nusrat Yar Khan, a mansabdar having a higher rank of 7000 *zat* and 7000 *sawar* entitled *Ruk 'nud Daula* got an increase of 1000 *sawars du aspa* in his *mansab* but reportedly died in the 4th *julus* of Mohammad Shah[1].

We do not have concrete evidence that who succeeded Nusrat Yar Khan; however, the contemporary historian, Ghulam Husain records that in 1727-28 Fakhrud Daula obtained the governorship of Bihar and held it for five years[2]. S.H. Askari says that Nusrat Yar Khan was succeeded by Aqidat Khan and during 9th *Julus* of Empror Mohammad Shah Aqidat Khan was replaced by Fakhrud Daula[3]. However, it was also referred that Aqidat Khan was followed by Marhamat Khan who died in September 1725 an his brothers Baqar Ali Khan and Hadi Ali Khan held charge of Bihar until Fakhrud Daula took over the rein of governorship[4].

Fakhrud Daula is reportedly invaded the Chotanagpur and Palamau area in 1730 and marched to the foot of the hills by way of Koonda where he settled the *Pargana* Sher with Muazzam Khan son of Aziz Khan. He then marched into Palamau fort but met with stiff resistance at Derrra where Muazzam Khan died of injuries. He failed to proceed beyond, and, through the mediation of Agoury Koonjee Singh, made a settlement of Rs.1200 ready money with the *ghatwals* of Ramgarh on account of the Nagpur Raja, and of rupees 5000 with the *ghatwals* of Palamau.

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1. *Tazkira-i-Salatin-i-Chaghta*, f. 412b.
2. *Siyar-al-Mutaakhirin*, (Eng. Tr.) Vol.I, p.272.
3. *Tazkira-i-Salatin - Chaghta*, ff.287, 296.
4. Ibid; ff.412b, 413b.
   Also see *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainiya,* Vol.III, p.69.

The author of *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainiya* says that Fakhrud Daula led an expedition against Udwant Singh of Jagdishpur. He was helped in this pursuit by Raja Horil Singh of Matila, Pahalwan Singh of Nokha and Tribhuvan Singh of Tikari and achieved some initial success. Izzat Bakhsh Khan and Jan Bakhsh Khan, *faujdars* of Bhojpur and Peero, respectively, and sons of Sarbuland Khan, a previous *faujdar* of Shahabad, and Dina Rai, who were inimical to Udwant Singh were deputed to keep an eye on the area around Jagdishpur. Udwant Singh took shelter with Abdullah Khan of Ghazipur with whose assistance he became successful in reoccupying the lost territory[1]. Ultimately, he seems to have made up with Fakhrud Daula and called upon him at Patna where he also visited the famous local shrine of *Patandevi*. The author of *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainiya* furnishes the interesting details that his seal bore the legend Mati Muhammad Banda Udwant (the slave Udwant, obedient to Prophet Mohammad).

An epigraphic testimony to Fakhrud Daula's administration in Bihar is the inscription dated 1142 A.H. (1729 - 30 A.D.) recording the construction of a Darul Adl (Court of Justice) by one of his subordinates named Hasan Ali. The building stood near th site of the present Khwaja Kalan police station in whose compound the inscription was found[2]. An earlier inscription of Aurangzeb's period dated 1663-64 also recording the construction of a Darul Adl was explored in the same precincts and it seems that this was the site of the *Kotwali* since much earlier. A little to the east

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1. *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainiya*, Vol.III, pp.129, 67.
2. Q. Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar*, Patna, 1973, pp.313-315, 378-81.

stands a massive three domed mosque popularly called *Fakhrud Daula ki Masjid*, and referred to as such in some old publications. According to its inscription it was built at the instance of the wife of *Nawab* Firuz Jung of Murshidabad in 1787-88. It seems likely that the site was earlier occupied by a mosque built by Fakhrud Daula. He was the last regularly appointed imperial *subadar* of Bihar. This was a period characterised by violent political changes, weakening of the administration and general confusion. But it is quite significant that even during this period of decline the strong arm of justice was not altogether withdrawn. The construction of two courts of Justice within a short period is indicative of a fairly regular functioning of the judicial and police branches of the administration.

In 15th Julus (1733-34), Fakhrud Daula was dismissed by the orders of Emperor Mohammad Shah as being a strong - willed governor, he did not pull on well with some of the colleagues.[1]

4. Bihar under the charge of Nawwab Alivardi Khan and Siraj-ud-Daula of Bengal, 1734 - 1757.

After the dismissal of Fakhrud Daula, the province of Bihar was put under the nominal charge of Prince Mirza Ahmad, and Shujaud Din, the *Nazim* of Bengal was appointed his deputy[2]. The latter wanted to send his son, Sarfaraz, in his place, but Sarfaraz's mother, the influential and dominating wife of the *nazim* did not want her son to be deputed away. Nor would she agree to her step son, Mohammad Taqi

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1. *Gulzar-i-Ibrahim*, Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Patna, 1934, pp.124-25.
2. Mohammad Ali Ansari, *Bahrul Mawwj*, MS. Copy Khuda Baksh Library, Patna, f.300b.

getting the post. As a compromise, Alivardi Khan, a trusted officer of Shujaud Daula and the *faujdar* of Rajmahal was elevated to the post of governorship of Bihar and he set out for Azimabad in 1733 A.D[1]. Commenting on these developments, K.K. Datta observes that 'Bihar was then added to the Bengal province by emperor Mohammad Shah in 1733 and automatically placed under *Nawab* Shujaud Din of Bengal[2]. It appears that from this period, for about 180 years (till 1912) Bihar remained as an appanage of Bengal.

The eminence achieved by Alivardi Khan as the virtually independent ruler of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa has tended to overshadow the earlier phase of his career in Bihar. Actually, Bihar served as a training ground for him and he displayed there the same vigour and application to affairs of state which characterized his latter administration. He was assisted in the administration of Bihar by several able and efficient officers. *Diwan* Chintaman Das looked after the revenue affairs, while Janki Ram was the adviser for executive affairs. Mirza Mirak held the post of Bakhshi, Mirza Dawar Quli and Haidar Ali Khan that of Daroghas of Personal Artillery (*topkhana-i-Jinsi*) and stirrup Artillery (*topkhana-i-dasti*). Faqirullah Beg held the post of *kotwal* while Nurullah Beg deputed as superintendent of Elephants and the *mahals* of *Nakhas*. Ghulam Husain Khan was made the *Darogha* of *Diwan Khana*, and Ataullah Khan, son-in-law of Haji Ahmad got the *faujdari* of Rajmahal, held earlier by Alivardi himself[3].

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1. A. Subhan, (ed.) *Tarikh-i-Bangala-i-Mahabat Jangi*, Calcutta, 1969, pp.6-7.
2. K.K. Datta, *Alivardi and His Times*, Calcutta, 1963, pp.8, 17.
3. Karam Ali, *Muzaffarnamah*, Khuda Bakhsh Library MS. Copy f. 146-23 b.

Alivardi Khan focussed his attention upon the leading refractory *zamindars* of the province. An unruly nobility is a source of danger to a peaceful state, so, having defeated them he made fresh settlements of revenue with some of them. Among the earliest of these campaigns was that against the turbulent *zamindars* of Bhojpur who had not paid the government dues and taken to highway robbery. They were defeated and fled towards Ghazipur. Another attack was made against Raja Raghav Singh (1701-1739) of Bharwarah (old seat of the Darbhanga Raj). It appears that in the beginning Raja's relations with Alivardi Khan were cordial as a *sanad* dated 16 *julus* of Mohammad Shah confers upon him *lakhiraj nankar* lands in *Pargana* Haveli Darbhanga, *Sarkar* Tirhut[1]. But soon after a conflict developed over non-payment of revenue and in 1735 the Raja Raghav Singh was reportedly attacked and defeated but later on the Raja was restored due to the intercession on his wife. An undated *Mahzarnamah* (declaration deed) of succeeding Raja Madhav Singh (1775-1807) records that a part of Raja's estate comprising *parganas* Bachchaur, Pariharpur, Jabdi and Khurd was settled with Rup Narain, a local *zamindar*, but he failed to pay the stipulated amount and was imprisoned. Later, he executed a deed of conditional sale (*bai-bilwafa*) of the *parganas* to Ghulam Husain, an officer of Alivardi Khan and obtained his release. Meanwhile, Raghav Singh was restored and Ghulam Husain made a conditional sale of the *parganas* to an agent of the Raja for 26000 rupees. The full *sadr zamindari* was thus restored to Raja Raghav Singh.

Alivardi Khan then carried his arms against the Raja Sundar Singh of Tikari, who had defeated and killed Faizullah Khan, *faujdar* of Pargana Sawant.

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1. The *sanad* is preserved in the Darbhanga Raj record room.

Raja alongwith Kater Singh was taken prisoner but their family took shelter in the fort of Chatra which was inverted and destroyed by Hidayat Ali Khan. Sundar Singh was restored to his *zamindari* on the recommendation of *Diwan* Chintamandas, and also given the settlement of Pargana Sher and Shergauty. He remained a steadfast ally of Alivardi and fought for him in several subsequent campaigns. One of the Pathan officers, Mustafa Khan, joined the service of Alivardi and elevated to the command of 14000 sawars and received the title of Babar Jang[1].

Raja Bishun Singh (1724-63), the *ghatwal* of Ramgarh was also attacked and forced to pay *nazrana* (presents). In 1735 Shahamat Jang and Abdul Karim Khan invaded Bettiah. The area was thickly wooded and inaccessible but the army cut its way through the jungle and besieged the fort. Raja Dhruv Singh of Bettiah did not fight and he fled away from his fort to the distant hills but later sent a *wakil* for negotiations and a new settlement of revenue was materialised. Alivardi Khan allowed the Raja to return to his place[2].

The *Banjaras* posing themselves as travelling merchants became roving bands of brigands. One such large group of *banjaras* consisting of 80,000 men and 1 Lakh oxen was creating disturbances in the areas of Awadh, Gorakhpur, Ghazipur, Bettiah and Bhanwarah (Tirhut) under the pretence of purchasing grains. A 4000 strong army led by Abdul Karim, *Diwan* Chintaman Das and Hedayat Ali Khan attacked on them. The *Banjaras* tried to escape to the territory of the Raja of Makwanpur (*Nepal*) whose dominions were outside the control of the emperor of

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1. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, pp.296-297.
2. *Muzaffarnama*, ff. 8-9.

India; but Ali Karim Khan cut their line of retreat and also wrote to the Raja not to give them shelter. He captured some 20,000 of the *marauders* and brought them over to Patna. The *faujdar* of Ghazipur attempted to intecede on their behalf and wrote to Alivardi Khan that they were merchants of Awadh and should not be treated so harshly. However, when Alivardi Khan wrote to him to come over and take possession of them, he kept quiet. Many of the *banjaras* dreading their, fate, had committed suicide on their way to Patna but many others settled down to other peaceful vocations.

Alivardi Khan also suppressed the Chakwars, a brave and warlike race who possessed a tract of land at Sambho in the Begusarai area. The Raja of this place had never paid tribute or acknowledged any subjection to the Mughals. They often held up the boats carrying the goods of the East India Company up and down the Ganges, and forced them to pay some money. This often led to clashes between the Chakwars and the armed escorts accompanying the boats. After a great pressure, the Raja agreed to pay an annual tribute[1].

Within a short period Alivardi Khan restored order throughout the province. All unruly, defaulting *zamindars*, recalcitrant elements and mischief mongers were suppressed. He developed a more efficient system of collection and successfully achieve financial stability and remitted larger amounts to Delhi than before. His vigorous administration of Bihar marked a turning point in his career, because he won the goodwill of his master by his achievement and his position became more strong. As a reward, Alivardi Khan was bestowed with the lofty title of Mahabat

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1. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p.297
   K.K. Datta, *Alivardi and His Times*, p.12.

Jang and a fringed *palki* (palanquin) by the Mughal emperor. Moreover, Bihar served as a base for Alivardi Khan's occupation of Bengal.

Several *sanads* of *madad ma'ash* and other charitable grants made by Alivardi Khan to individuals and institutions in Bihar are still extant. A grant was made to the *Khanqah* at Maulanagar (Monghyr) to meet the expenses of a *madrasa* and a hostel with free boarding and lodging for the students. A metal bell for striking the hours of the day and night was also set up in the building. A similar grant and a bell was given to the dargah at Biharsharif[1].

The most important development of this period was the increasing commercial activity of the English East India Company and the growing involvement of its men in the political affairs of the region. It was an altogether new development whose full impact was realised subsequently. It pulled Bihar away from its moorings and drew it into the whirlpool of Bengal politics during the latter half of the 18th century. It appears that Bihar in the first half of the 18th century presents an instructive spectacle of declining imperial authority, on the one hand, and increasing commercial-cum-political activities of the East India Company, on the other. The two parallel developments are not so clearly discernible in any other part of the empire. It's also evident that the latter development was rendered easier and attractive by the former.

Coming back to the political scene; it is observed that Alivardi's success in Bihar increased his ambition and he planned to usurp the Bengal *Masnad*. Nawab

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1. F. Buchanan, *An account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna in 1811-12*, Vol.I, p.68.

Shujauddin breathed his last on 13 March 1739 and his son Sarfaraz ascended the throne who was devoid of character and ability. Excessive addiction to the pleasures of the *harem* impaired his energies and he could not develop intelligence, strength of character and manly spirit without which no ruler can ever pilot the ship of the state[1]. Due to his weakness and ease-loving tendencies, Alivardi wanted to remove Sarfaraz Khan diplomatically. He wrote a private letter to Mutamad Daula at the imperial court, who enjoyed the confidence of the emperor Mohammad Shah, with a view to obtain a *sanad* granting him the Government of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. He assured to send one crore of rupees over and above the annual tribute, and as much of the wealth of Sarfaraz as he could confiscate. By the middle of March 1740, he got issued the imperial commission, permitting him to wrest the Government of Bengal from Sarfaraz[2]. Meanwhile the court of Bengal became a centre of intrigue and *Nawab* Sarfaraz became involved in the conspiracy engineered by his enemies. He could not make a distinction between right and wrong and removed Haji Ahmad from the post of *Diwan* and ordered an enquiry into the management of the public revenues of Azimabad (Patna) since Alivardi's appointment. Consequently, Alivardi and Haji Ahmad who had been so loyal to his family, now became his enemy. *Nawab's* relation with Jagat Seth, great *banker* of Murshidabad also ceased to be cordial, so he joined the conspiracy against the *Nawab* with Alivardi. Haji Ahmad met Jagat Seth and Alam Chand and conspired to place Ali Vardi Khan on the throne.

By the middle of March 1740 Alivardi had received an order from the

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1. K.K. Dutta, *Alivardi and His Time*, p.17.
2. *Siyar-al-Mutaakhirin*, Vol.I, pp.328-329 *Muzaffar Nawah*, ff.11-12.

imperial court for wresting the Government of Bengal from Sarfaraz Khan. He proceeded towards Bengal leaving Zainuddin Ahmad known as Haibat Jang, his son-in-law in the charge of Bihar. The soldiers were given to understand that they were going to Bhojpur. Syed Hidayat Ali Khan, the father of the historian Ghulam Husain was sent to govern Seres and Kotomba (2 *Parganas* of South Bihar). His soldiers starting from Waris Khan's tank came to Jafar Khan's garden, to the east of the Patna city and set out for Murshidabad with 7000 or 8000 cavalry[1]. After a forced march he arrived close to the border of Bengal near Colgong and passing through Taillagarhy, a strong fortress situated near Sahabganj reached Rajmahal. Sarfaraz Khan was unknown about Alivardi's march with an army towards him for ousting from the throne. From Rajmahal Alivardi wrote a letter to Sarfaraz Khan that since after many affronts received by his brother Haji Ahmad, attempts had been made upon the honour and chastity of his family, so he had come to save his family from disgrace and humiliation. As such, requested that Haji Ahmad should be permitted to come to him with his family and dependants[2]. Alivardi's letter bewildered the *Nawab* Sarfaraz Khan; consequently Haji Ahmad was imprisoned. Jagat Seth and other court advisors persuaded the *Nawab* to allow Haji Ahmad to leave the place. Ultimately, Haji Ahmad was released and instantly joined his brother's camp with his followers at Rajmahal. *Nawab* Sarfaraz Khan marched from Murshidabad and reached Giria

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1. *Alivardi and His Times*, p.23,
   also See, *Tarikh-i-Mahabat Jang*, f.7.
2. *Siyar-al-Mutaakharin*, Vol.I, p.332.
   Muzaffarnamah, f.12, Alivardi wrote letter to the Nawab stating that he wanted to place certain grievances before him, so Haji Ahmad might be sent to meet him; so that he might acquaint the Nawab with his grievances through him.

on the eastern bank of the Bhagirathi, about 25 miles north-west of his capital. Alivardi Khan encamped on the opposite bank of the river. Meanwhile messages and messangers were continually passing and repassing between the two camps. *Nawab* liked to take Alivardi into his favour but Alivardi was disgusted with the rude behaviour of the *Nawab*. Nothing came out of this negotiation and hostilities started at Giria. On 10 April 1740 Sarfaraz Khan was defeated and killed[1].

Alivardi Khan's victory at Giria marked a turning point in his career. There remained no longer any formidable opponent to oppose his advance to Murshidabad, the then capital city of the province of Bengal and he became the indisputed ruler of Bengal and Bihar. The Deputy Governorship of Bihar was given to his youngest nephew and son-in-law entitled Zainuddin entitled Haibat Jang. Abdul Karim Khan, was placed incharge of the *Sarkar* Tirhut and in addition to his duties; he was assigned to work as revenue collector of the *parganas* of Bihar and Biswak.

After the battle of Giria, Murad Khan had been sent by the emperor of Delhi to receive the property of the deceased *Nawab*. He came to Patna and stayed at Sikrigali where he was handed over the property of 70 lakhs, besides 7 lakhs in cash by Alivardi Khan. On account of this, he received the *sanad* of rulership of Bengal[2]. Alivardi now solicitated from the imperial Government for Zainuddin the title of Valiant, the Honour of the Empire, and the terrible in war together with the *Mahi*, the fringed *palki*, the battle - drum and the standard[3].

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1. *Tarika-i-Mahabat Jang*, f.9, *Muzaffarnama*, f.14. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p.337. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Bengal*, Vol.II, p.441.
2. *Siyar-al-Mutaakherin*, Vol.I, p.347.
3. Ibid; p.344.

Zainuddin was a young man of great merit and equal in every sense to the honour and the high office he enjoyed. He, like his father-in-law Alivardi Khan, tried to establish peace and tranquility throughout Bihar. He had some able officers with him like his *Diwan* Chintaman Das, Hidayat Ali Khan, father of the contemporary historian Ghulam Husain, Mahdi Nisar Khan, a brother of Hidayat Ali Khan and his nephew Abdul Ali Khan. Besides these, Raja Sundar Singh of Tikari and the *Zamindars* of Narhat and Samoy, Namdar Khan, Sardar Khan and other who were in recognition of their past services to Alivardi, admitted into Zainuddin's personal favour and friendship. He offered Hidayat Ali Khan, the office of Paymaster of the province while Chintaman Das was given the charge of revenues and finances of the whole province. Hasan Beg was assigned the *qiladari* of the castle of Monghyr. He suppressed the two tumultuous *zamindars* of Shahabad, Bharat Singh and Udwant Singh Ujjainiya (grand father of Vir Kunwar Singh of 1857 revolt). They were driven from their strongholds, their castles and habitations were destroyed and the country was freed from their incursions and eternal violences[1].

Haibat Jang by his remarkable success established his reputation as a strong administrator. Within a short time he completely subjugated all the unruly *zamindars* of the land. He got his able Afghan soldier Roshan Khan murdered on suspicion that he was in league with his enemy[2]. At the same time, in another part of Bihar, Hidayat Ali Khan with the co-operation of Raja Sundar Singh and Raja Jaikishan Singh both *zamindars* of Palamau and the *zamindars* of seres and Kotumba brought

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1. *Siyar-al-Mutaakherin*, Vol.I, p.374. K.K. Datta, *Alivardi and His Times*, pp.50-66.
2. *Siyar-al-Mutaakherin*, Vol.I, pp.374-75.

under control the powerful Hindu Rajas of Ramgarh. Hidayat Ali Khan supported by such a confederacy besieged the fortress of Ramgarh and occupied it.

By 1742 Bengal faced the Maratha invasion. Raghuji Bhonsle, the independent Chief of Nagpur had commissioned his Prime Minister Bhaskar Pandit to attack Bengal. Alivardi Khan, to save Bengal from this invasion, called Haibat Jang from Bihar; who proceeded to help him. Ultimately, the Marathas were defeated and fled away[1]. However, the Maratha inroads into Bengal and Bihar caused immense anxiety and harassment to the people of Bihar. Bhaskar Pandit and Raghuji Bhonsle marched into Bengal at the head of a large army in February 1743. Unable to send imperial aid to protect Bengal from the Marathas, the Delhi Emperor with his usual short sightedness sought to utilise the rivalry of the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao against Raghuji Bhonsle. Balaji Baji Rao's march into Bihar with an army of fifty thousand cavalry proved to be a veritable curse for its people and caused immense panic among them. He exacted blackmail from the people of the places through which he passed and harassed them in various other pretexts. Ahmad Khan Quraishi, grandson of Daud Khan Qureshi, (ex-governor of Aurangzeb's Bihar) was terribly chastised for his attempt to defend the neighbouring fort of Ghauspur and was forced to ransom his life for 50,000 rupees[2]. K.K. Dutta says that the people of Patna, though very much panicky, escaped ravages, as Balaji Baji Rao's troops did not go that way, but marched to Bhagalpur through Tikari, Gaya, Manpur, Biharsharif and Monghyr. For crossing the Rajmahal hills across the highway which was guarded by a garrison at the fort of Teliagarhi; Balaji Baji Rao was given help by an old Rajput *zamindar* of

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1. Ibid. p.399.
2. *Siyar-al-Mutaakherin*, Vol.II, p.522-25.

Kahalgaon hills named Sita Ram by guiding his army through some secret passes in the hills for a reward of one lakh rupees. Baji Rao than entered into Birbhum and Murshidabad as Raghuji had already fixed his camp at Katwah in Bardwan district. Both the Maratha armies left Bengal by the end of May, 1743.[1]

But Bihar did not escape the effects of the repeated Maratha invasions of Bengal till 1751, particularly because the Maratha allied themselves with the Afghan rebels particularly one Mustafa Khan, the Afghan commander who helped Alivardi immensely but subsequently in utter disgust resigned the services of Alivardi in 1745 and proceeded towards Patna with the intention to assassinate Haibat Jang and then to declare himself as the *subadar* of Bihar. Mustafa Khan alongwith other rebel Afghans had been spending their days in distress at Magror near chainpur and sasaram. Considering their request, Raghuji Bhonsle moved from Bengal to Bihar marching through the forest tract on the north of Birbhum and the hills of Kharagpur on the south of Monghyr, Raghuji reached *Fatwah*, and after plundering it, Shaikhpur and some village, in the estate of Tikari, forded the Son river. After rescuing the Afghans he re-crossed the river Son at Arwal and proceeded to Patna. The news of the arrival of Raghuji encouraged Mustafa khan to come out of Chunar with the intention of enriching himself with plunder. He arrived in the Shahabad district and entered the *Zamindari* of Udwant Singh Ujjainiya, the chief of Jagdishpur. For enforcing law and order, Haibat Jang started from Patna with 13000 men, crossed the son river at Koilwar and reached Karhani in the edge of the jungle of Jagdishpur. The armies of Mustafa Khan were lying near this place and the battle started on 20 June 1753. The

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1. J.Z. Holwall; *Interesting Historical Events relative to the province of Bengal and the empire of Indostan*, London, 1765, pp. 137-142.

number of Mustafa's forces had dwindled because he had no money to maintain such a large army. Notwithstanding this limitation, the battle started well for the Afghans; but the fate was against them and Mustafa Khan was shot dead by a *musket-ball*. Hashim Ali Khan, a soldier of Alivardi Khan beheaded Mustafa Khan, fixed the head on the point of a spear and exhibited it to the soldiers[1]. Upon this, the Afghans were seized with panic and they fled away from the battle field to Magror under the leadership of Mustafa's son Murtaza. Since the Afghan soldiers were not remained loyal to Alivardi Khan; and it was suspected that the Afghans had formed a secret alliance with Raghuji Bhonsle to oust Alivardi from the *masnad* of Bengal; they were dismissed from state services and directed to go to their homes at Darbhanga and its adjoining areas[2].

Haibat Jang's daring deeds created in him a sense of vanity. He began to overestimate his strength and becoming over-ambitions wanted to remove his master Alivardi Khan from the *masnad* to seize the Bengal's throne with the help of the Afghans[3]. Haibat Jang even arranged a ceremonial interview with the Afghan chief in the Chihil Satun or Hall of Audience at Patna on 13 January 1748. Shamsher Khan, the Afghan Chief had 3-4 thousand soldiers with him; Murad Sher Khan had 5,000 soldiers with him; and the streets leading to the palace were filled up with the former's soldiers, while the audience hall was filled up with latter's soldiers. They

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1. *Tarikh-i-Mahabat Jang*, f.36.
   Muzaffarnamah, f.31,
   Riyaz-us-Salatin, p.353.
2. *Tarikh-i-Mahabat Jang*, ff.45-6.
3. *Muzaffarnamah*, f.33
   Siyar-al-Mutaakherin, Vol.II, p.29.

had planned before hand to assassinate the governor, Haibat Jang who was paid back in his own coin for his inordinate and foolish ambition, Abdur Rashid Khan first stabbed him but his hand began to shiver; suddenly Murad Sher, another Afghan Chief struck a tragic blow cutting him into two pieces.[1] His limbs were buried in a plot of land, known as *Maqbara* - Haibat Jang in the Begampur *mohalla* of Patna city. This was followed by confusion and panic in Patna which fell under the control of Afghans till April 1748. Alivardi Khan inflicted a crushing defeat on the Afghans at *Ranisarai* (in the south bank of the Ganges 26 miles east of Patna). The Afghan commanders like Sardar Khan, Shamsher Khan, Murad Sher Khan fell dead in the battle field. Alivardi Khan was victorious. He ordered the drums to be beaten. The Maratha army, at this turn of events, fled away from the battle field. After a few days halt at Baikunthpur, in the bank of the Ganges Alivardi Khan entered into Patna to the great rejoicing and relief of its inhabitants and his heart kept with an ecstasy to find his daughter and other relative alive[2]. The goods and effects of the Afghans at Darbhanga, strong hold of the Afghans were confiscated by a batch of *Nawab's* men. But Alivardi Khan went personally to Bettiah to bring over Shamsher Khan's widow and his daughter. Contrary to the treatment of the Afghans meted out to the family of Haibat Jang, he treated the females with kindness and respect.

An inscription is found fixed in the prayer-hall of a mosque locally known as Terhi Baraon ki Masjid in *mohalla* Sabzi Bazar in Biharsharif. It records the construction of a mosque by a disciple of Shah Bikh in 1165 A.H. (1751-52)[3]. A

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1. *Siyar-al-Mutaakherin*, Vol.II, pp.36-37 K.K. Datta; *Fort William - Indian House Correspondence*, Vol.I, pp.277-78.
2. *Tarikh-i-Mahabat Jang*, f.54, *Siyar-al-Mutaakherin*, Vol.II, p.56.
3. Q. Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar*, pp.325-26.

point of interest is that it belongs to the reign of Ahmad Shah (1748-54) of which no other inscription exists in Bihar. During the period Bihar was under the virtually independent control of Nawab Alivardi Khan, Mahabat-Jang, and it is not without significance that the inscription does not contain any reference to the ruling sovereign.

Bihar in the charge of Nawab Sirajud Daula and Raja Janki Ram.

After suppressing the Afghans in Bihar, Alivardi Khan arranged for its administration by appointing his grand son, Sirajud Daula[1] as Governor of Bihar, while Raja Janki Ram, a Bengali Kayastha, was left actually in the charge of its administration as Sirajud Daula's deputy.

Raja Janki Ram had been associated with the family of Alivardi for a long time. he had acted as the *Diwan* of the household of Nawab Alivardi Khan in 1746[2]. He was a wise counseller, a brave and loyal servant to the *Nawab*. He liked him much. The administrative experience of the past helped him greatly in his new assignment. Sirajud Daula was a rash, inconsiderate young man and having no experience of running the administration. He had not developed strength of character and judgement. He was addicted to drinking and developed companionship of some evil men. Mahdi Nisar Khan was his principal advisor who instigated Sirajud Daula to rise in rebellion and overthrow Raja Janki Ram. While Alivardi Khan was busy in

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1. He was the son of Amina Begum (younger daughter of Alivardi Khan) who was married to Haibat Jang. Alivardi had no son of his own; he named his grandson Mirza Muhammad (later called Nawab Sirajud Daula) and made him an object of special favour and affection, as his birth was synchronous with his elevation to the masnad of Bengal.
2. J.N. Sarkar, *Bengal Nawabs*, p.98.

Orissa and Midnapur in fighting against the Marathas he had to face a trouble from an unexpected quarter. His grandson, Sirajud Daula in whom he lived and moved and had his being, was instigated by the said dimissed and discontented general of the *Nawab*, to try for independent authority in Bihar's adminstration by removing the *Nawab's* agent Raja Janki Ram. Under the circumstances, Sirajud Daula left Murshidabad for Bihar, joined Mahdi Nisar Khan in Jafar Khan's garden and attacked Patna; Janki Ram found himself in an extremely delicate position. He felt any injury to Sirajud Daula would cause agony to his doting grand father (*nana*). But equally he thought it to be his duty to defend the city against the assailants. By acting with tact and courage he prevented capture of the city. The leaders of the rebels like Mahdi Nisar Khan, Madari Beg Dakani and Amanat Khan were killed in course of the fighting. Sirajud Daula was given a safe shelter in a noble's house. On hearing of this untoward incident, Alivardi Khan soon came to Ghiyaspur (Barh) and informed Siraj that Alivardi had granted all his prayers and would treat him with love and favour and thus induce him to come and meet his grandfather[1]. At last Siraj agreed and he came to meet his grandfather at Barh. Now Alivardi and Siraj came to Patna and the former soothed the mind of Siraj. They stayed for sometime at Patna and then returned to Murshidabad after bringing a reconciliation between Sirajud Daula and Raja Janki Ram who continued to act as the virtual Deputy to Siraj[2].

Raja Ram Narayan was the *Diwan* of the province during the deputy governorship of Janki Ram (1748-52). Who being an efficient administrator attempted

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1. *Bengal Nawab*, p.146
   Tarih-i-Mahabat Jang, ff.70-71.
2. *Siyar-al-Mutaakherin*, Vol.II, p.106.

to suppress the unruly *zamindars* of the province. He collected the revenue regularly and remitted it to the *Nazim*. He had been appointed to this post in consideration of an annual payment of 3 lakhs rupees[1]. Accordingly he remitted 9 lakhs during 3 years and at the time of his death presented an additional nine lakhs rupees to Alivardi Khan arising from his emoluments. Thus Raja Janki Ram gave rupeess 18 lakhs to the Bengal treasury as a whole. The *jagirdar* of the imperial court were pleased with Janki Ram and they recommended and secured for him the rank of 400 *zat* and 3000 horse and the title of Maharaja.

In 1752 Raja Janki Ram died, and on his recommendation shortly before his death the office of the Deputy Governor of Bihar was conferred on his *Diwan* Raja Ram Narayan whose father, Rang Lal, a Shrivastava Kayastha, was originally an inhabitant of village Kishunpur in *Pargana* Sasaram of the Shahabad district. It is mentioned that Rang Lal served under Alivardi Khan and enjoyed the patronage of his family. Ram Narayan was appointed as a private secretary (*Khas Nawis*) of Haibat Jang during his rule over Bihar.

During the period of Raja Ram Narayan's deputy governorship of Bihar (1752-1763) which witnessed some of the most striking events and fateful developments in Bihar's history, and of the country. The Raja, poetically surnamed '*Mauzun*' was an eminent man of latters and a distinguished Persian and urdu poet. He was also the favourite disciple of the celebrated Irani poet, Shaikh Ali Hazin. He remained faithful to the *Nawab* till his death. Ram Narayan administered Bihar with considerable efficiency, being always vigilant about the interest of the State. He

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1. *Bengal Select Committee Proceedings*, 1769, p.143.

arranged for timely collection of customs and realised arrears of revenue from the Bihar *Zamindars*. He subdued and won over the Bhojpuria *zamindars* of Shahabad, Kamgar Khan Mayi of Narhat and Samai, Sunder Singh of Tikari and Bishun Singh of Siris Kutamba by a combined policy of conciliation and force. In fact, the most remarkable feature of Raja Ram Narayan's political career was the ability and wisdom he displayed in settling the affairs of the province with great care and without much bloodshed. After hearing the death of Sirajud Daula, he wept and racited the following Urdu couplet :

"Ghazalan tum to waqif ho,
Kaho majnu ke marne ki,
Diwana mar gaya akhir ko,
wirane pe kiya guzri."

(Oh! Gazallers (Ghazal writers), you surely are in the know of things; tell us of the death of majnu. The disappointed and distracted lover died, but how did the desolate land fare ?)

5. Bihar in Transition : Growth and Expansion of British influence, 1757 - 1765.

The period between 1757 and 1765 was marked by the growth and expansion of the British influence in Bengal and Bihar. Alivardi Khan had passed away in 1756 and succeeded by Nawab Sirajud Daula who has fought against Shaukat Jang, Nawab of Purnea just after his accession. Shaukat Jang was defeated and killed

in the battle of Manihari[1].

It appears that due to various reasons leading members of the territorial and official aristocracy entered into conspiracy with the principal officers of Nawab Siraj to dethrone him. The conspiracy of 1757 which precipitated the battle of Plassey is an important event in the history of Bengal. It is beyond the scope of the present work to deal with the battle of plassey and Buxar. But it however seems necessary to present some glimpses bearing effects of these battles on Bihar.

As a result of the battle of Plassey, Mir Jafar ascended the *masnad* of Bengal. The leading nobles and *zamindars* of Bihar were not prepared to accept the change and opposed the British supremacy. Raja Ram Narayan, Kamgar Khan, *Zamindar* of Narhat, Sunder Singh, a Bhumihar Raja of Tikari, Pahalwan Singh of Bhojpur and Bishnu Singh of Siris and Kotamba manifested a spirit of opposition against the new regime. Jean Law, the French adventurer has explained that they might have rebelled against Mir Jafar but Jagat Seth, Mehtab Rai and Swarup Chand and the English averted a combination of the Hindu Rajas of Bihar who would not have obtained all the advantages they did from the Muslims. He further explained the reasons, why the Bihar Rajas did not protest against Mir Jafar. "All these Rajas, he writes in his memoirs," detest the Muslim government and if it had not been for the Seth, the famous bankers, with whom they have close connections, it is probable that after the revolution in which Siraj was the victim, they would all have risen together to establish a Hindu government".[2] Law's observations are probably correct.

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1. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Bengal*, Vol.II, p.479. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p.369.
2. S.C. Hill, *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*, London, 1903, p.120.

The interest of the East India Company and that of Jagat Seth clashed with the interest of the Bihar *zamindars* who were in the apprehension that with the extension of the powers of the Britishers towards Bihar; the Company would subjugate the Bihar *zamindars*. But Jagat Seth due to his mercantile interests, did not see eye to eye with this scheme of the *zamindars* of Bihar.

Mir Jafar wanted to replace Ram Narayan by his brother Mir Kazim Khan which was however diplomatically failed by Lord Clive. Ram Narayan joined the English side, it became impossible for the Bihar *zamindars* to continue in rebellion against the English and the *Nawab*. Deserted by Jagat Seth and Ram Narayan, these *zamindars* reconciled themselves to the changed situation and accepted Mir Jafar. So Bihar submitted peacefully to the English authority.

Since Mir Jafar was a weak ruler he was dismissed. Mir Qasim, his son-in-law was declared as the Nawab of Bengal on 20 October 1760. Being an efficient administrator, he turned his attention towards '*Bhojpuria zamindars*' who had become a serious political menace which no government could have tolerated. Nawab made sufficient preparation for suppressing them which was duly approved by the Governor, Mr. Vansittart. Ghulam Husain gives a graphic description of the army. "He (the *Nawab*) was at the head of an army as numerous as the multitude of the day of judgement[1]." All the recalcitrant *zamindars* left their homes and fled away to Awadh. By December 1761, the *Nawab* captured the fort of Judgepur whereafter Bhekary, the fort of Pahalwan Singh fell. The *Nawab* occupied all the forts of the

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1. *Siyar-al-Mutaakherin*, Vol.II, p.425.
   Muzaffarnamah, f.76.

Bhojpuria barons including the strong fortress of Bettiah as well as the fort of Rohtasgarh which was seized by March 1762. Samru, an European, was posted to Buxar with 3 or 4 regiments of infantry to safeguard that area. He massacred about six thousand Bhojpuria robbers, who had disturbed the peace and order of the whole adjoining.

While Mir Qasim was trying to strengthen the Government, some circumstances drove him into opposition to the East India Company. The rash and over bearing conduct of Ellis, the then Chief of the English factory of Patna, precipitated the crisis. It had become almost inevitable in view of the conflicting interests of the two. Anxious to assert his defacto authority and to arrest the economic decline of the state, Mir Qasim could not reconcile himself to a position of complete subordination to the East India Company.

Thus in Bengal political changes were taking place at a rapid pace with the result that the foundation of the British empire had become stronger. Peace of Bihar had become disturbed due to the invasions of Prince Ali Gauhar (Shah Alam) from 1759. The central Government was slowly proceeding towards its doom. The Prime Minister had usurped all the powers. The selfish wazir Imad-ul-Mulk, in league with the Maratha, was creating havoc at Delhi. Prince Ali Gauhar, who was the eldest son of emperor Alamgir II was driven out of t he environs of Delhi by the wazir and had to set his face towards the wilderness. He took refuge with Najibud Daula at Saharanpur who advised to attempt the reconquest of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Prince marched to Awadh and with the help of Nawab Shujaud Daula proceeded to Allahabad where he was joined by Muhammad Quli Khan, the deputy

governor for attacking of Patna[1]. As the *zamindar* of Bihar were reluctant to accept the verdict of the battle of Plassey, the interested chiefs like Balwant Singh of Benares, Sunder Singh of Tikari and Pahalwan Singh of Bhojpur assisted him in the expedition. But in due course of time their endeavours proved disastrous due to the political dexterity of Lord Clive as he succeeded in winning over Raja Ram Narayan who completely subdued the Bhojpur Rajas. They had agreed to pay ten years arrears of revenue to Ram Narayan. Thus this invasion of the Prince Ali Gauhar ended in fiasco. The British authority remained unaffected there. The *wazir* Imad-ul-Mulk congratulated Clive in this way: the faithful services which you have performed and the pains which you have taken in the late affairs have given me great joy, now can I sufficiently express your praises for what have you done. Continue to behave with the same fidelity; seize the rebel and send him to court. By the will of God, this service performed, the king will show you the greatest favour, and your honours shall be increased[2].

Subsequently, the English council declared Mir Jafar as the *Nawab* of Bengal and the English force marched from Murshidabad with Major Adams as commander. At the battle of Suti and Giria (on 2nd August 1763) Mir Qasim's forces were defeated. After his defeat, Mir Qasim became anxious for the safety of his family and he sent his wife alongwith 1700 other ladies and the treasures to the fort of Rohtas under the charge of Lala Naubat Rai, who soon died, then Shah Mal, the

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1. *Siyar-al-Mutaakherin*, Vol.II, p.281.
2. Thompson, Edward and G.T. Garrat, *Rise and Fulfilment of the British Rule in India*, Allahabad, 1958, p.86.

Diwan took over charge[1].

Now Mir Qasim proceeded further to re-enforce his army that was now concentrated on the banks of the Adhuanalla, a stream taking its rise from the hills north of Rajmahal and following to the Ganges. But as ill luck would have it, Mir Qasim's forces were defeated on 5 September 1763. These defeats roused the *Nawab* Mir Qasim to exasperation and from Monghyr he wrote to Major Adams; "If you are resolved to proceed in this business, know for a certainty that I will cut off the heads of Ellis and rest of your chiefs and send them to you[2]." Major Adams replied. "If a hair of their heads is hurt, you can have no title to mercy from the English and you may depend upon the utmost fury of their resentment." This threat he carried out with the help of a renegade name Walter Rein Hardt, known as Samru. After halting some time at Monghyr, Mir Qasim left the place with Gurghin Khan and others, placing the fort in the charge of Arab Ali Khan and crossing Rohua Nalla reached Barh where Jagat Seth and his brother Swarup Chand were put to death[3]. When Mir Qasim reached Patna, he received the news that Arab Ali Khan, commandant of the Monghyr fort treacherously made over the fort to the English. *Nawab* Mir Qasim lost his balance of mind as defeat after defeat exasperated him and he ordered for the massacre of the English soldiers. 51 Englishmen were slaughtered in cold blood at Patna on 6 October 1763. The other English prisoners were murdered in October 11

1. B.D. Basu, Rise of *Christian Power in India*, Calcutta, 1931, p.161.
   Captain Arthur Broome, History of the *Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army*, Vol.I, Calcutta, 1850, pp.386-88.
2. Walter K. Firminger, *Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna* 1763, Calcutta, 1909, p.29.
3. *Siyar-al-Mutaakherin,* Vol.II, p.491.
   Riyaz-us-Salatin, p.390
   Also see, James Mill, *History of British India*, Vol.I, London, p.826, p.307.

in the *Chihil Satun* or Hall of the pillars behind the *Madrasa* mosque in the Patna city. The order for the murder was given by the Nawab Mir Qasim, but the massacre was directed by a deserter from the French army under Samru. This melancholy event is known as Patna massacre[1]. A manifesto was published offering a reward of a lakh of rupees for the person of Mir Qasim and Rs.40,000/- for the person of Samru.

After leaving Patna, Mir Qasim received a letter from the Nawab of Awadh Shujaud Daula. In that letter and in the fly leaves of the copy of the Quran which accompanied it, Shujaud Daula promised him protection and support. The terms of cooperation between Mir Qasim and the Nawab of Awadh were settled and Mir Qasim agreed to pay him 11 lakhs of rupees per month, from the day his army should cross the Ganges. He received in return a promise that just after the successful completion of the battle, Mir Qasim would be declared as the Nawab of Bengal. The English were also marching to fight to Mir Qasim. The forces of fugitive Mughal Prince Ali Gauhar (crowned as Shah Alam II (1759-1803), Mir Qasim and the Nawab of Awadh took their position. The Nawab of Awadh had made Lohanipur (a *mohalla* of Patna city) as his headquarters. Nothing was decided and the rainy season intervened. The forces of the *Nawab* returned to Buxar. Major Carnac was replaced by Major Munro. The emperor Shah Alam II and the Nawabs of Awadh and Bengal proceeded against the English and the famous battle of Buxar was fought on 23 October 1764.[2]

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1. Nearly opposite to the Roman Catholic Church in the Patna City is the grave where the bodies of Mir Qasim's victims were ultimately deposited. It is covered by a pillar with an in laid tablet and inscription.
2. Colonel G.B. Malleson, *Decisive Battles of India*, 1746-1849, London, 1914, pp.166-170, 206-207.

The result of the battle of Buxar was disastrous to the Indian cause. A better co-ordinated attempt by the Emperor Shah Alam II joined in by the Nawabs of Bengal, Mir Qasim, and Awadh, Shujaud Daula, was decisively crushed at the battle of Buxar. The importance of the battle of Baxar for surpassed than the battle of Plassey. In the words of Malleson; "Whether regarded as a dual between the foreigners and the native or as an event pregnant with vast permanent consequences. Buxar takes rank amongst the most decisive battles, ever fought. Not only did it advance the British frontier to Allahabad, but it bound the rulers of Awadh to the consequences by ties of administration, of gratitude, of absolute reliance and trust, ties that made them for the years that followed the friend of his friend and the enemies of his enemies". The English victory at Buxar helped the East India Company in obtaining the Grant of *Diwani* (right to collect the land - revenue) of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765, which marks the virtual end of Mughal rule in Bihar and Bengal. It placed the province of Bihar at the mercy of the Britishers. During the early period of British rule, Bihar became a sub-province of the sprawling and populous presidency of Bengal.

CHAPTER IV

ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY IN SUBAH BIHAR

The Mughal glory reflected more splendidly in the administrative institutions of the empire than in any other forms of civilization and culture that flourished during the seventeenth century. The basic administrative structure established by Akbar in the provinces of the empire and the principles which guided its internal working at the local level continued to operate unaltered either in form or character in the times of his successors; and traditions and rules, so evolved and perfected during the period, withstood the strains and stresses of political change and survived long after the collapse of the empire. Aurangzeb, in particular, had imparted new vigour and strength to the provincial administration, and endeavoured to attain the ideals and objectives of the Mughal kingship through its smooth and effective functioning.

This administrative system had been organised to work under the strict control and superintendance of the central government. Nearly all local functionaries, from governor to *amil*, were appointed and removed by the emperor at the recommendation of the central ministers who, in turn, acted as a check on the abuse of powers contained in the offices of these officers. The lines of control running parallel from different central ministries reached the provincial offices of similar designation, inextricably linking them with the main machinery at the centre, and giving the entire system a form of symmetrical duality. For instance, the *mirbakhshi* controlled the affairs of the *nazim* and *faujdar*, the *wazir* supervised the work of the

provincial *diwan* and *amil*, while *sadr-us-sadur*, commanded the management of affairs under the provincial *sadr*.

No study of regional history will, therefore, be complete without a thorough and accurate examination of the nature and working of the local administration. The following chapter is devoted to a critical analysis of the executive, judicial and financial administration in Bihar under Aurangzeb and later Mughals.

1. Powers and Position of the Provincial Governor

The supreme executive head of a province in the Mughal empire was the governor officially styled as *nazim* and populrly known *subahdar*[1]. He was appointed, transferred and removed by the King through a royal *farman*. "His essential duties were to maintain order, to help the smooth and successful collection of revenue, and to execute the royal decrees and regulations despatched to him[2]". The *farman* issued to a governor at the time of his appointment contained instructions underlying principles of imperial administrative policy. A *farman* issued by Aurangzeb to Ibrahim Khan, governor of Gujrat, in 1707, laid emphasis on efficient administration, effective protection of the people, development of agriculture and increase in the prosperity of the *raiyat* (subjects). It underlined the obligation of the governor to organize a strong army for maintenance of peace. Ibrahim Khan was further instructed to keep up the high standards of efficiency and integrity which characterised the administrative practices of his predecessors. His faithful services to the imperial cause would be

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1. J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, Orient Longman, 1972, p.38.
2. *Mughal Administration*, p.38.

rewarded by promotion in his *mansab* and position. The *farman* exhorted Ibrahim Khan"to dispense justice with strict impartiality, put an end to the tryranny of the strong and not allow them to suppress the weak[1]." The governor in pursuance of these aims and objectives devoted to the administration and maintenance of law and order in area under their jurisdiction.

The governors were appointed from amongst the most experienced and trust-worthy nobles, and given ample lattitude in the conduct of administrative affairs. Royal princes, like prince 'Azam and Azim-ush-Shan, had also been sent to govern the province of Bihar. By way of emoluments a governor was assigned *jagirs*, the proceeds of which covered, besides personal pay, expenses of *tabinan*, or the *mansabdars* on active duty under him. According to Hidayatullah a governor designate should enlist one fourth *tabinan* before setting out for his *subah* and another one fourth on his way to his headquarters. He should despatch half of the *tabinan* (contingents) so recruited to reach the provincial capital before his own arrival there[2]. The local officers were subordinate to him and assisted him in the execution of the imperial policies. In his own executive sphere he was supreme, as *faujdars* and *thanedars* and other minor functionaries worked under his direct supervision. It was on his recommendations that the emperor appointed *faujdars*, increased *mansabs* and conferred titles on officers subordinate to him. For instance, Hamid Khan Quraishi, the *faujdar* of Shahabad was dismissed by the emperor on complaints made by the governor of Bihar, against his misappropriation of *Khalisa* revenues. The tenure of

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1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol.I, p.375.
2. *Hidayat-ul-Qawaid*, Aligarh MS. folio, 14.

governors of Bihar ranged one year to six year as Daud Khan Quraishi (1659-64) and Ibrahim Khan (1668-73) continuously held offices for a period of six years. Though there is nothing on record to show that the usual tenure of service of a *subahdar* in a province was fixed, however, Tavernier refers to a custom of the Mughal empire according to which a governor was expected to retire from a province after three years[1].

Aurangzeb maintained a firm grip over the administration and never hesitated in removing an incompetent or dishonest *subahdar*, even if he happened to be a prince of royal blood. It has been described how both Safi Khan and Azim-ush-Shan were dismissed from their offices, one for misappropriating the public money and the other for indulging in private trade[2].

A governor could nominate his deputy (*naib*) to govern the province in his absence with the approbation of the emperor, as for example, during the reign of Jahangir when Prince Pervez was appointed as *subahdar* of Bihar, he was assisted by Mukhlis Khan in the successful governance of the *subah* and acted as Prince Parvez's deputy[3]. Another evidence also shows that when Prince Azim-ush-Shan was recalled by Aurangzeb in 1706, the former appointed Sarbuland Khan as his deputy in Bihar[4]. In such cases the *nazim* or *subahdar* as a rule administered the province through a deputy appointed by himself with the approval of the emperor[5].

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1. Tavernier, Vol.II, p.63.
2. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p.226.
   Riyaz-us-Salatin, p.250.
3. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol.II, pp.89-91.
4. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p.267.
5. P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p.72.

The *subahdar* of Bihar was asked to take charge of the adjacent province of Bengal in cases of emergency arising out of either sudden demise of its governor or delay in the arrival of its governor-designate. When Fidai Khan died, Prince Azam, the *subahdar* of Bihar was sent to Bengal, similarly in 1663, Daud Khan Quraishi looked after the administration of Bengal till the arrival of Shaista Khan, its permanent governor[1]. This arrangement was necessary because of the distance from the Capital and the time taken in conveying the news as well as the order for the new appointment to be made before the incumbent could reach there.

Thus, at the apex of the provincial government of Bihar stood *subahdar* or governor, a *diwan*, a *bakhshi*, a *sadr*, a *mir-i-bahr* (admiral) and a *waqai-navis* (news reporter). But the ultimate executive, administrative and judicial powers, both at the centre and in the *subah* ordinarily vested in the emperor. Theoretically this power was absolute the unlimited, but in actual practice, certain limitations on it were unavoidable. These limitations arose out of the factors of distance, the nature of the locality of the province, the recalcitrant nature of *subah* or the outlook and attitude of *subahdar*. These drawbacks were sought to be eliminated or modified by the innovation of a series of administrative checks on the provincial government, especially on the *subahdar* and his council of advisors. The governor was not allowed to remain for a long period in a province. He was subject to periodical transfer from one province to other alongwith his entire council of advisors, so that none might consider himself to be the permanent master of one *subah*. The next powerful check on the *subahdar* and his officers in a province was the intelligence department, whose ramifications

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1. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp.157, 169.

spread over the whole empire like a network and kept the government officials always alert and vigilant in the discharge of their duties and responsibilities[1]. The third check on the provincial governor was the device of administrative dyarchy in the administration of a *subah*. The *subahdar* was appointed by the emperor, but the provincial *diwan* was appointed directly by the imperial *diwan* at the imperial court. The net result of this scheme was that the provincial *diwan* became immune to the subordinating influence of the governor. This is of course, served as the most potent and unfailing check on the governor and his associates. But this type of administrative dyarchy, making the provincial diwan almost independent of provincial government, attained its zenith during the reign of Aurangzeb. By 1701 the provincial *diwan* had become completely independent of the provincial government in revenue and fiscal matters. He was solely accountable to *diwan-i-ala* at the centre[2]. The purpose of this

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1. *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, p.440.
2. R.P. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, pp.296-97.
   The farman of Rasikdas Karori and Mohammad Hashim issued by Aurangzeb clearly showed that the provincial diwan was the head of the provincial finance and independent of the governor in financial matters and was responsible to the imperial *diwan* only at the centre. (Cf. W.H. Moreland, The Land Revenue System of Mughals, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, London*, 1922, pp.21-22) In due course, we find that the *subahdar* and the *diwan* always kept a jealous watch over each other's activities and even reported to the centre. There have been reported a prolonged conflict in Bihar between the *diwan* Mir Muiz 'Fitrat' and the *subahdar* Buzurg Ummed Khan. The latter several times reported against *diwans* of Bihar to imperial government during his tenure of governorship (1682-94). In 1685 on the representation of Mir Muiz, *diwan* of Bihar, Aurangzeb ordered and directed to Buzurg Ummed Khan, the governor to desist from interfering in the affairs of the *diwan* of the subah.
   (Cf. *Akhbarat-i-Darbar Mualla*, 28th Regnal year of Aurangzeb 1685 A.D.)

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administrative device was to maintain an effective check on the highest officials of the province and to ensure success in the provincial administration. The fourth check on the power of the provincial governor was the post of provincial *bakhshi* who generally was also *waqai-navis* or news reporter. He held in his hand a strong instrument of power which deterred the governor from becoming high handed, negligent or oppressive. Even more effective was the fear of the secret reporter (*Sawanah-navis*) was the *harkara* (the transmitter of secret reports[1]). The fifth check on the provincial government by the frequent imperial tours and the deep concern displayed by the emperor for the welfare of the peasantry. There was still another check on the provincial government and that was provided by such imperial *faujdars* and *qiladars* who were directly appointed by the emperor or central government and were necessarily responsible to them. As such, they could not be disturbed by the provincial governors, hence, they were an important check on *subahdar* as well.

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The real power of *diwan* was displayed when Murshid Quli Khan (then known as Kartatab Khan) was appointed in 1701 as *diwan* of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. But the relation between him and Prince Azim-ush-Shan, the then *subahdar* became so strained that the latter even thinking in terms of diwan's murder. Keeping in view the precarions situation which followed the final vindication of Murshid Quli Khan and the reprimands given to Prince Azim-ush-Shan and latter's subsequent shift of his seat of government at Patna, all clearly show the segregation of the revenue administration from the general administration which was a sound and healthy move in constitutional dyarchy. See also, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, p.454. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, pp.244, 252. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Bengal*, Vol.II, p.404.

1. *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, pp.401-2, 479.
The provincial Government of the Mughals, p.199.

2. Other Important Administrative Functionaries In the Provincial Administration.

As regards to the important administrative functionaries, next to the *subahdar* (governor), was the provincial *diwan*. These two high officials shared between themselves the responsibility of running practically the whole administrative machinery of the *subah*. Whereas the governor was responsible for the executive branch of the administration, for its defence, for dispensation of criminal justice and general supervision in the *subah*, the *diwan* was responsible primarily for the revenue affairs and the civil justice[1]. He was expected to scrutinize the work of the provincial *sadr* (head of the religious department, charity and grant). In addition to these two high officers, there was also a provincial *bakhshi* (pay master) who, besides being incharge of the local troops and militia, also held the post of *Waqia-navis* or the public news reporter. The provincial bakhshi was appointed from the imperial court[2]. The main functions of the *bakhshi's* department included enlistment and the passing of pay bills both of the *mansabdars* and their soldiers. The *bakhshi* in addition to his above-mentioned duties, reported what was worth reporting to the imperial court. In the office of *subahdar, diwan, faujdar* and *qazi*, there were *bakhshi's* assistants who gathered detailed information about the work of these officers[3]. With the office of provincial bakhshi was generally combined also that of *Waqia-navis* or political remembrancer[4]. The *Akhbar* dated 19 July, 1694 records that a person. Ali Raza was

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1. *The provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp.281-82, 343-44.
2. *Mirat-i-Ahmad*, (Supplement) pp.174-75.
3. *Nigarnama-i-Munshi*, (Br. MS. or 1735), fol.112b.
4. Mirza Nathan, *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*, Vol.I, pp.377-78.

appointed as *bakhshi* of the *subah* Bihar[1].

The *sawanih-nigar* or secret reporter was a kind of check on the *bakhshi* and *waqia-navis*, who were sometimes suspected of producing false reports[2]. Once Aurangzeb came to know from the *sawanih-nigar's* report that in Bengal the *subahdar* Ibrahim Khan who also served as governor of Bihar (1668-73), in excess of pride sat on a couch when he held *darbar* and the *qazi* and other officers of canon law sat on the floor. Aurangzeb asked the *vazir* to write to the *nazim* of Bengal that "if he is unable to sit on the ground by reason of any disease, he may be excused till his restoration to health and he should urge his doctors to cure him soon. As the report writer (*sawanih-navis*) has risen to a high *mansab* (rank) he is no longer fit to continue as report writer, let him be given a promotion in rank of 100 troopers, write to Ibrahim Khan to find for him *faujdari* (militia-command) within the jurisdiction of his province so that the latter (report writer) too may know the taste of report writing against himself by other writers[3].

The provincial *qazi* was the chief judge of the province. Generally the chief *qazi* (*qazi-ul-quzat*) of the Mughal empire appointed the provincial *qazi*[4]. According to P. Saran the main function of a *qazi* was to decide cases and to execute judgements[5]. J.N. Sarkar argued in his Mughal Administration that the provincial

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1. S.H. Askari, Bihar in the Time of Aurangzeb, *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1946, p.165.
2. *The provincial Government of the Mughals*, p.198.
3. J.N. Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb*, p.132.
4. *Mughal Administration*, p.27.
5. *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp.340-41.

court was mainly composed of three officers, the *sadr*; the *qazi*, and the Mir-i-adl[1]. But P. Saran asserts that "While the three offices of the *Sadr*, *Vazir* and *Mir-i-adl* are in some places separately mentioned, in actual practice these three offices seem to have been very often entrusted to one and the same person even though they may not have been amalgamated." Sir J.N. Sarkar himself, perchance unconsciously recognises this fact when he mentions only the qazi in the provincial judiciary (except the governor) and neither the *sadr* nor *mir-i-adl*[2].

The *mir-i-bahr*, an important official, who was the incharge of customs collection at the river custom ports and ferries. It was rather impossible to carry goods unpaid without his prior permission[3].

The magisterial side of the *subahdar's* functions was held by the kotwal, who was the chief magistrate for the whole of the *subah*. The *kotwal* was essentially an urban officer, being chief of the city police and incharge of the entire municipal administration. The *kotwal* of Patna, the chief and capital city of Bihar, had his office at mohallah Alamganj (Patna city). Under the *Kotwal* there was a large body of cavalry and a considerable number of foot soldiers[4]. The *Akhbar* dated 14 July 1703,

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1. *Mir-i-Adl* was an officer of justice M.B. Ahmad writes in his *Administration of Justice in Mediaeval India* (p.160) that *Mir-i-adl* possessed no judicial powers such as those of a *qazi*. His duties were analogous to those of a *mufti*. The *Mufti* gave his opinion on a point of law and the *Mir-i-adl* submitted a report on fact and the case was made over to him by the *qazi*, after the judgement was delivered for superintendence of proceedings in execution. He was in fact a sort of superior clerk of the court.
2. *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p.344.
3. John Marshall in India, *Notes and observations in Bengal*, 1668-72, ed. S.A. Khan, London, 1927, p.97.
4. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Supplement), p.178.

46th regnal year of Aurangzeb records a person named Fazil as *kotwal* of Bihar.

The *bayutat* was incharge of the state factories and maintained accounts of the properties of the deceased officials inorder to recover the payment of the state dues from the deceased, if any, as well as to safeguard property of such deceased person inorder to be handed over to his heir or successor[1].

When in 1679, Aurangzeb reimposed the *jiziya* (poll tax) there are various references of appointments as *Amin-i-jiziya* of *subah* Bihar, who acted as superintendent of all the affairs relating to its collection and disbursements etc. The *Akhbar* dated 19 July 1694, 37th regnal year of Aurangzeb reports Ghulam Mohiuddin as the *Amin* incharge of the *Jiziya* in Bihar. In 1703, a person named Mohammad Afaq took charge as *amin* of *jiziya* collection in Bihar[2].

These aforesaid officials were the part and parcels of a *subah*, without whom no efficient administration was possible during the period under review.

A note worthy point in the provincial administration of the Mughals is plural appointments. We find that in 1698 Prince Azim-ush-Shan, the *subahdar* of Bengal also given the charge of Bihar as well as and he was at the same time also holding the post of *faujdar* of Kuch Bihar[3]. It is also recorded fact that Murshid Quli Khan, between 1700-1704 held the post of *diwan* of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, and *subahdar* of Orissa and *faujdar* of Makhsusabad (Murshidabad), Burdwan and Midnapore as well. It seems that responsible and important posts were occasionally

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1. *Akbarnama*, Vol.II, p.711.
2. Cf. S.H. Askari, Bihr in the Time of Aurangzeb, *J.B.R.S.* 1946, pp.165, 176.
3. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p.387.

combined in a capable officer like Murshid Quli Khan. However, undoubtedly the *subah* of Bihar had a strong administrative link with Bengal. Moreover, the office of the government of Bihar had an importance of its own in as much as it was a spring-board for promotion to the governorship of *subah* of Bengal, one of the richest province of the Mughal empire.

For the convenience of administration each province was divided into *sarkars* and *sarkars* into *parganas*. Each *sarkar* had its executive head known as *faujdar*, who represented the executive side of the government. The *faujdars* were in fact the assistants of the *subahdar*. Pramatma Saran referes to a farman of Aurangzeb, which confirmed the appointment of Mujahid Khan as *faujdar* of *sarkar* Khairabad in Awadh and mentioned his duties[1]. According to it his duties were to keep and maintain law and order, enforce payment of government dues and suppress rebels and robbers. Abul Fazl[2] has also enumerated a number of functions of the *faujdars*, viz, to bring the task the rebel cultivator, defiant collector of crownlands or the contumacious assignee of government estates who had raised the banner of revolt. But he was asked to used minimum force, while chastising them. He should be vigilant in the recovery of the arrear of the revenue due from a village and inspect the horses and the accontrements of the troops and send to the royal court a roll of troops present and absent. However, a *faujdar* was wholly responsible for maintaining law and order of a *sarkar*. For this purpose a contingent was placed under his command. The *faujdar* was particularly enjoined not to disposes anyone from his rightful property. He was required to send monthly reports to the *subahdar* about every occurence of a

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1. P. Saran, 'Two Farmans of Aurangzeb, *Islamic Culture*, 1945, pp.261-69.
2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, pp.41-42.

sarkar. The *Akhbar* dated 43rd regnal year of Aurangzeb i.e. 1699 A.D. reports that Sepahdar Khan, *faujdar* of Darbhanga informed the emperor about the trouble created by the *banjaras* of Darbhanga in the vicinity of Tirhut, so ultimately orders were issued to the *subahdar* of the province and the *faujdar* as well to crush such elements[1].

Mirza Khan, *faujdar* of Darbhanga fought bravely in the conquest of Palamau and always assisted in a great deal to Daud Khan Quraishi, governor of Bihar[2]. After the death of Mirza Khan the following persons had been posted as *faujdars* of Darbhanga and Tirhut: Masum Khan[3], Nasiri Khan[4], Sazawar Khan, Shaikh

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1. *Akhbarat-Darbar-i-Mualla*, Sir J.N. Sarkar Collection, Microfilm copy, Department of History Library, Aligarh, Cf. S.H. Askari, Bihar in the time of Aurangzeb, *J.B.R.S.*, 1946, p.165.
2. Mirza Khan died in 1664 during the suppression of rebellion made by *zamindars* of Morang. A *mohallah*, Mirzapur including *Mirza Khan ka talab* (a pond built by Mirza Khan) still recalls his past memories in Darbhanga town. See *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, p.539 *Alamgirnama*, p.850.
3. He was the son of Shah Nawaz Khan and grand son of Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan. He granted a *Sanad* to Hafiz Abdul Wahab for the maintenance of a mosque known as *Saqfi masjid* in Maulvi mohallah of Darbhanga. He also established a seat of judiciary (*dar-ul-qaza*) at Benglagarh where his residence situated. Nowadays this area called as Musharraf Ganj within the town of Darbhanga. See *Alamgirnama*, pp.852, 1049. R.K. Chaudhary, *History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut*, p.169.
4. *Alamgirnama*, p.986.

Ghulam Mohammad Khan, Hadi Khan[1], Tarbiyat Khan[2], Asfand Yar Khan[3], Mulla Shaikh Jiwan[4].

Fidai Khan was entrusted the charge of Tirhut and Darbhanga in 1701 as its *faujdar* in addition to his viceroyalty of Bihar[5].

After the conquest of Palamau in 1663 MAngli Khan, *faujdar* of Saran was appointed as *faujdar* of Palamau and incharge of Palamau forts as well[6]. His place in *sarkar* Saran was taken by Mir Raziuddin. Later on, we find that in 1666, Lashkar Khan the then governor of Bihar was ordered to take charge from Mangli Khan and in this way Palamau was placed under the direct charge of *subahdar* of Bihar[7].

There is a reference to the appointments of naib (deputy) *faujdars*, Govindaram and Jagat Rai had been appointed as the *naib faujdars* of Darbhanga[8],

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1. He remained there from 1676-78 Mohalla Mir Hadi still recalls his memory. See *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p.157, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.p.497.
2. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp.157, 209.
3. A *farman* of Aurangzeb dated 5 Ziqad 1110 A.H. (1698) confirms *madad maash* grant of 50 *bighas* of land in favour of Shaikh Noor Ali, which was issued by Asfand Yar Khan, *faujdar* of Tirhut in 1696. *Mohallah* Asfand Yarpur remands his posthumous repute, now it consists modern *mohallahs* of Sarai Sattar Khan and Faqira Khan etc. See Ilyas Rahmani, 'Uhd-i-Islamiya mein Darbhanga per ek majmoi nazar', *Ma'asir*, July, 1949, p.87.
4. He was a reputed *faujdar* of Darbhanga. He wrote a book *Taghayyur-i-Ahmadi* which dedicated to his son Maulvi Ahmad alias Shah Imaduddin. Mohallah Jiwangarh still recalls his fame. Ilyas Rahmani, op. cit., p.88.
5. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p.433.
6. *Alamgirnama*, p.660.
7. *Alamgirnama*, p.972.
8. R.K. Chaudhary, *History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut*, Varanasi, 1970, p.170.

but very little is known about their powers and jurisdictions. However, it appears from *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* that his jurisdiction was limited to the particular town of a *sarkar* where he was appointed. He could sometimes keep cavalry on certain conditions[1].

A faujdar was theoretically subordinate to the imperial court but in fact he was responsible to the governor of the province concerned. The *Subahdar* had the power to dismiss any *faujdar* if he was displeased with him. Consequently, a *faujdar* always tried to keep satisfy the *subahdar*.

The *faujdar* was supposed to be assisted in the work of administration in the sarkar by the *kotwal* and the *qazi*. The *sarkar* was both an administrative, including judicial and revenue unit. The *faujdar* was the executive head but possess no judicial power. The *Kotwal* and the *qazi* divided between them the entire judicial work of a *sarkar*. There have been discovered an important document by Q. Ahmad, which relates the existance of a *qazi* family in *parganah* Mehsi of *sarkar* Champaran. These records consisted of two *sanads* of appointment of *qazi* and three *sanads* of grants of land, issued during the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719-48). But it seems that the ancestor of the family served as *qazi* since a long time. Apart from this, it is here significant to note that both these documents enumerates the duties and functions of a *qazi*, which are as follows:-

Administration of justice, fixation of boundaries, organisation of weekly congregational prayers on fridays, supervision of interests of widows and orphans,

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1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (Supplement), 188 ff.

performance of *nikah* ceremony etc[1]. Local tradition still locates the place where the qazi`s court was situated, and now for the above consideration popularly known as Qazipura. The *qazi* had a separate staff for discharging his duties properly[2].

R.K. Chaudhary has referred to a family of village *qazi* Rasulpur (sarkar Monghyr) whose members held the post of *qazi* from fourteen generations. It seems that the post of *qazi* was hereditary and they simply required royal confirmation of the fact by the succeeding emperors. He further refers about various *sanads* which are under the disposal of the same family and bears the seal of Aurangzeb, Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Shah[3]. The *Akhbar* dated 28th regnal year of Aurangzeb, i.e. 1685 records that a person named Fathullah held the post of *qazi* of parganah Hajipur.

The *amalguzar* was the chief revenue officer of a *sarkar*, in addition there were two other officers also, namely chief *qanungo* and chief *chaudhari*[4]. Abul Fazal has described at length the functions of *amalguzar*. Being the collector of the revenue, he was to chastise contumacious and dishonest, punish highway robbers and evil doers, help the husbandman with advance of money and recover them in time, encouraging cultivators etc[5].

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1. Q. Ahmad, 'A note on parganah Mehsi 'District Champaran, *J.B.R.S.* 1958, pp.191-94.
2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol.I, p.296.
   Muntakhab-u-Lubab, Vol.III, p.606.
3. *History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut*, p.149.
4. Q. Ahmad 'Origin of Darbhanga Raj', *Proceeding of Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1961, pt.II, pp.92-93. This is evident from the appointment of Mahesh Thakur as chief *(sadar) chaudhari* of *sarkar,* Tirhut in the time of Akbar and later confirmed by Aurangzeb to his successor, Mahinath Thakur.
5. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett and Sarkar), Vol.II, pp.46-50.

A *sarkar* was divided into several *parganahs* or groups of *mahals*. But the *parganah* was a political unit while the *mahal* was a revenue or fiscal unit. In a *parganah* the duties of *faujdar* and *kotwal* (of a *sarkar*) were combined in the *shiqdar* who was incharge of the police as well as criminal justice[1]. While civil justice and revenue affairs were carried on by *parganah qazi* and the *amil* respectively[2]. The municipal duties of *kotwal* however do not seem to have been entrusted to *shiqdar* who was incharge of the general administration only, by virtue of his being the executive officer of a *parganah*. The *shiqdar* acted as a magistrate dealing with the crime, but with limited powers, the cases which were beyond his cognizance, were forwarded by him to the *Kotwal* concerned. There were *chaukidars* and *dusadhs* to police and guard the roads at the *parganah* level and there was *rahdar* or custom officer for collecting the tools[3]. Besides all these, we get information from various contemporary records that there were a network of officials connected with the administration of the subah. For example, *jagirdar, karori, amin, zamindar, guzrbanass, faujdar, mutasaddi, mustahfizun*, etc[4]. An Armenian merchant Hovhannes

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1. *The provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp.211-13.
2. A *sanad* issued by Munim Khamis Nasir, the provincial *qazi* of Bihar to Abdul Hakim dated A.H. 1026 was to the effect that Abdul Hakim was appointed as *qazi* of *parganah* Kasmar (*Sarkar* Saran) and accordingly the people were directed to recognize him as such. The document is under the possession of *qazi* Ali Hasan of Kasmar district Saran.
3. A *parwana* dated A.H. 1081 (1671 A.D.) issued by Raziuddin Ali to Saiyyid Ali Ahmad of *parganah* Bhagalpur, directing *chaukidars* and *dusadhs* to police and guard to highway and roads at *parganah* level. The document also refers to *rahdars* who acted as custom officers on the highway to collect tolls and this office, too being a necessary one in administration of all rulers, came from the past.
4. See *Farmans, Nishans*, and *Parwanas*, Rotography, Research Library, Centre of Advanced Study in History, A.M.U. Aligarh, Nos.13, 15, 19.

Joughayetsi who visited India and stayed from 1682 to 1693 in connection with his commercial enterprise. This merchant also supplied us the names of a large number of officials of the *subah* of Bihar though they were mainly connected with trade and commerce[1]. The ledger of Hovhannes mentions the name of number of officers in whose name charges were made at the custom house, such as, *Mootassadi (mutasaddi), tafildar (tahvildar) moushrouf (mushrif), Emin (amin), daroogh (darogha) and nvisanda (navisandah)* etc[2].

3. Town Administration:

A town was divided into wards and in each ward a horseman and twenty to thirty foot soldiers were stationed. The *Kotwal* appointed a headman for each ward like modern ward's commissioner. The latter kept a journal and despatched his daily reports to the *Kotwal*[3]. It appears that the *Kotwal* whose duties in the present age are confined to purely police matters was the sole authority of a town[4]. In theory his duties were very comprehensive and in same cases were even wider than those of the modern municipalities. He was a magistrate, prefect of police and municipal

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1. Levon Khachikian, 'The ledger of Merchant Hovhannes Joughayetsi', *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. VIII, 1966, p.173.
2. Leven Khachikian, op. cit., p.171, *Mutasaddi* was a clerk or accountant, *tahvildar* was a cashier or treasurer, *Mushrif* was an inspector or examiner or an auditor in treasury who authenticated accounts. *Amin* was a clerk. *Navisandah* was a scribe or writer, *Darogha* (generally meant headman of an office or superintendent). *Daroghas* position as incharge of the land custom house is brought out by the fact that when Hovhannes reached at Patna, his goods were locked in a room as '*dargougha*' had gone to Massi and so no one was allowed to unlock the door until he comes back (ibid, p.173).
3. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol.I, p.168. *Hidayat-ul-Qawaid*, Aligarh, MS. fol.37.
4. *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp.232-36.

office all rolled into one. He corresponds to *Sahib-us-Shurta* of the Great Abbasid's age and had been compared by Monserrate to the chief English Bailiff, by Manrique to a city Magistrate and Peter Mundy and Thevenot called him the *'Kotwal Khan'*[1].

The state of internal security visibly declined in the eighteenth century. Apart from thieves and robbers, even *zamindars* were involved in cases of looting and oppression. In 1715 the *waqa-i-nigar* of Bihar reported that the Ujjainiya chief, Sudhist Narain, son of Kunwar Dhir, had set up his camp in Bhojpur *qasba* with 16,000 horsemen and engaged in looting on the highway. He even intended to set up his own *thanas* by killing the *amil* of Sasaram (1715). Even the capital town of Patna did not escape from the depradations of the same *Sudhist* and other local *zamindars*. To allay the panic among the people and remove the state of insecurity, the new Governor Mir Jumla (1715) adopted certain measures: appointing Sidi Qa'im as *Kotwal* of Patna to prevent oppressions, and stop the nuisance created by vagabonds and thieves; prohibiting gambling (thereby realising the connection between it and theft); imprisoning Khwaja Kabir and Khwaja Firdaus as a warning against collecting "a dam more than royal dues"; and asking the *zamindars* to protect the cultivations.

It was reported in 1715 that Hari Singh the *zamindar* of *pargana* Dharampur had raised a fort close to *pargana* Sajapur, *sarkar* Purnea, was bringing adjacent (imperial) *parganas* under his control, and collecting *rahdari*. It was suggested that the *zamindar* of Morang (sub-Himalayan tract on the north-eastern borders of Bihar) should be asked not to give any help to Hari Singh, and to arrest him. However,

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1. See Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, 'Police-system in Mediaeval India in Theory and Practice, *Bihar Police Magazine*, Vol.I, No.II, 1954, pp.69-82.

it appears from a subsequent *Akhbar* that the *zamindar* of Morang too had raised disturbances in *sarkar Purnea*, and had appropriated cattle from villages near the thana of *pargana* Sultanpur. Dalilullah Khan, the *faujdar* of Purnea, had raised some troops to chastise him, but Jafar Khan, the *nazim* of Bengal, did not seem to be happy about the prospects of the *faujdar* opening hostilities with a border *zamindar* without orders from above.

In another case, the *faujdar* of Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) reported in 1716 that Ram Singh, *zamindar* of Nijwara (Panchwara ?), who had been appointed for guarding the town and the highways had retired to his home 'on the hills' and was not protecting the highways although he held *jagirs* for the payment of *sawars* and *hissa-i-dhat*.

The *Akhbarat* throw light on some other aspects of the provincial administration, too. One entry of 1716 relates to a case of hoarding foodgrains by some officers of Purnea due to which there was a scarcity of grains and public distress in the area. It was reported that the *Qazi* and the *Mufti* had stored up 6000 maunds of paddy and rice and some other commodities in their houses, and as the *ihtesab* (duties of the *muhtasib*, which included, among other things, the checking of weights and measures, and maintenance of probity in trade), appertained to them they sold the grain at their desired prices, and hence grain was not available to the residents of the area. It was ordered that the *Sadru's Sudur* should write to the officers concerned.

As an administrator of the town his duties includes watch and act as a warden of the town for the maintenance of law and order, assurance of security, prevention of theft, find out the black sheep of the area concerned. Here *Kotwal*

proved to be a replica of Mauryan nagraka of Kautilya's Arthshastra. The *Kotwal* to ensure law and order may pass an order to the people of this effect. He was to control the markets and regulate the prices of commodities. He also possessed the power to take care of and make legitimate disposal of heir-less property. To take care of the peoples conducted, their sources of income and expenditure and prevention of crimes, social abuses, sale and drinking of wine and to regulate the affairs of cemetries, burials, slaughter-houses and supervision of weights and measures, all includes the duties of a *Kotwal*[1].

In the administrative set up of a town there was an officer called *muhtasib* (censor of public morals). He was a sort of police official and acted as an overseer of markets and morals.

As regards the forts in *subah* Bihar, it was under the supervision of an officer called as qiladar (the custodian or commandant of the fort[2]).

Some of the forts of medieval Bihar were justly famous. They were either of stone, brick or mud or mixed. We get some idea of these in contemporary chronicles, foreign travellers' accounts and inscriptions. The fort of Patna had been built by Sher

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1. *Hidayat-ul-Qawaid*, Fol.37-39, Hidayatullah Bihari, a desciple of Shah Ahmad Munawwar of Maner (Patna) writes on the basis of actual working of administration as he witnessed in Bihar in his days. Only about a decade after the demise of Aurangzeb, that a *Kotwal's* duties includes also to summon professional women, liquor-sellers and vendors of intoxicants and take bonds from them to observe the law and regulation in the matters. Cf. J.N. Sarkar, op.cit. pp.75-80.
2. Mohib Ali Khan Rohtasi was the *qiladar* of the fort of Rohtas during the reign of Akbar (Akbarnama, Vol.III, p.466). Cf. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.II, tr. pp.226-29.

Shah in 1541 at the confluence of the Ganges and the Gandak. In the time of Akbar, however, it had two forts, one of brick and the other of mud. Bihar (modern, Bihar Sharif) had a fort of stone and brick. Gidhaur (in modern Monghyr district) had a strong hill-fort in the midst of a jungle. Seor also had a strong hill fort. All these were in *sarkar* Bihar. Hajipur had a mud and brick fort. Monghyr fort was then reputed for its strength. The fort of Teliagarhi, controlling the narrow passage between the Ganges on the north and Rajmahal hills on the south, was of immense strategical importance then, as it guarded the only direct route from Bihar to Bengal. *Sarkar* Rohtas had, besides the famous fort of Rohtas, two other places with strong forts, Ratanpur and Kot. During the governorship of 'Azimu'sh Shan of Bihar (besides Bengal) five forts including Rohtas and Chunar were fixed for stationing the royal artillery (Sept 24, 1696).

Rohtas fort, was long associated with *Raja* Man Singh. According to Abul Fazl it was a "stronghold on the summit of a lofty mountain, difficult of access". It was a spacious fort with a circumference of 14 *Kos*. Its supply of food and water was ensured, as the land was cultivated, there were many springs and water was available within a depth of 3-4 yards, besides many lakes were formed during rainy season and there were more than 200 waterfalls". It possessed a remarkably healthy climate.

Some particulars are available regarding administration of Rohtas fort from inscriptions. The construction of Rohtas fort with its strong fortifications and the connected buildings was supervised by "Priest Shridhar, *Darogha* Balbhadra, thread wearer, and architect *Ustad Mubarak*". It appears that the fort was built during the *shiqdari* of Shridhar and Gopaldas. It was also supervised by Bhai Khan bani Israil.

The commander of Rohtas fort occupied an important place in the administrative and military organisation of the period. Names of several commanders of the fort are available : (a) Muhib Ali Khan Rohtasi, 987 (1579-80); (b) Kishwar Khan succeeded Man Singh in Rohtas fort in 1606 and became its commander in 1608; (c) Ikhlas Khan, a *mansabdar* of 3000 not only held the *Qaladari* of Rohtas but he was also the *faujdar* of the area stretching from Makrain on the Son and *parganas* Siris and Kutmba now in Aurangabad sub-division of Gaya District up to Benaras. All these illustrate the administrative, strategic and topographical significance of the fort and it environs.

We know about the appurtenances of the commander of Rohtas from an inscription. His *jagir* included *pargana* Chaund (or Chakund, part of *sarkar* Rohtas), *pargana* Mangror and Tilouthu, Akbarpur, Belonja, Bijaygarh and japila (in Palamau district). We also know the names of some other *qaladars* of Rohtas, such as Abu Muslim, Neknam Khan, Wali Beg Gulabi. After the capture of Rohtas fort by 'Abdullah Khan on behalf of Farrukh Siyar in 1712, it was re-named Farrukh nagar[1].

4. Village Administration

In villages the traditional panchayat system was left unimpaired and allowed to function uninterrupted[2]. The village panchayat disposed of cases of common disputes matrimonial disputes, land disputes etc. including all such complaints which arises in the social and economic life of the common masses. We find that the

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1. Q. Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar*, pp.166-67, 175-178, 185-187, 235-38, 269-70.
2. *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp.237-48.

administrative setup of villages under Sher Shah did remain in vogue under the Mughals also. It was both expedient and practical. It had survived the test of the time. The smallest unit of administration, under the Surs, as it continued to remain so under the Mughals, was a village, called *mauza*, a term which still persists. The administration was carried by *muqqaddam* and *patwari*. The *muqqaddam* or *mukhiya* was the recognised head of the village administration and was held responsible by the higher authorities for his village[1]. Even in the present village Panchayat set up, the institution of *mukhiya* as the village headman exists with enormous powers and jurisdictions. *Muqaddam* in the village discharged the police functions like preventing highway robberies and thefts in the village and the region adjoining to it. He was required to produce the offender and restore the theft property, failing which he had to compensate the suffer. There were *chaudhari* in every village who ordinarily looked after the revenue affairs of the villages[2]. A *firman* of Emperor Jahangir dated 1619 A.D. deserves mention. It was issued to the effect that Narayan and Bhowal, Sons of Nalo Tirhutia, complained to the emperor that the *chaudharies* officers and *jagirdars* were interfering in their hereditary right of free fishing in *hauz* (tank) of village kakrali and others *nalas*, in *Pargana* Kasmar, *Sarkar* Saran and demanded illegal money from them. The *firman* under review was issued with orders to put a stop to

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1. A *patta* (lease) dated 1676-77 of Aurangzeb's reign, shows that the leaser being Muhammad Riza and lessee being Muhammad Yaqub who was the headman (*muqaddam*) of the village.
2. A *sanad* dated A.H. 1083 (1673) issued by Ahmad Sayeed Khan relates the appointment of Firoz and Akbar Rahim as *chaudharies* of village Makhal *pargana* Pilich (*Sarkar* Bihar) I (author) am greateful to (Late) Professor S.H. Askari for these above references, who kindly allowed me to see his collected documents.

all such practices and to give no trouble to the fishermen in the enjoyment of their hereditary rights. A *sanad* dated 9 *Rajab* 6 regnal year of Emperor Ahmad Shah (12 May 1759) bearing seal of Nawab Alivardi Khan to the effect that the population of the village Sarsi in *Pargana* Nanpur was growing thinner due to the exorbitant rate of fixed *Jama* (assessed revenue), and therefore it was expedient that it should be populated. As such, the aforesaid village is settled as perpetual *Muqarrari* at an annual fixed jama of Rs.633 only with exemption from payment of other taxes, in favour of Rai Barsadh Ram, *malik* of the village[1]. Such type of rural folk's complaints were regular features of 18th century.

Some documents refer to the orders of the government to the *amils* and *faujdars* to protect the people against oppressions committed by other persons. For instance, we may refer a *parwana* dated 7 regnal year of Emperor Ahmed Shah (1753 A.D.) issued in the name of Toola Ram, *amil* of *Pargana* Singhia, *sarkar* Purnea. It is related to the complaint filed by a *faqir* named Shah Forar, drawing the attention of the government towards the fact that the revenue officers were exacting illegal money from him for his lands which he was holding as *khairat* in the village Khadoo, in *Pargna* Fatehpur Singhia, *sarkar* Purnea. The said *Parwana* was issued with orders that all interferences should be stopped forthwith and the amount exacted from the *faqir* should be refunded to him without delay. Such documents clearly show that state was always ready to come to the help of the people whenever its attention was drawn towards the highhandedness of government officers.

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1. These documents are preserved in Bihar State Archives, Patna.

5. The Judicial Administration

With regard to judicial administration in subah Bihar it may be here firstly pointed out that the emperor was regarded as the fountain of justice and the highest court of appeal to whom the aggrieved could prefer appeal the decision of the highest court of a province[1]. The *subahdar*, moreover, in virtue of his being the sovereign's representative in the province did exercise a general supervision and control overall branches of administration including justice. The author of the *Lubb-ut-Tawarikh* tells us that the offenders when discovered were first tried by the local authorities where the offence had been committed. If any individual, dissatisfied with the judgement, appealed to the governor or *qazi* or the *diwan* of the *subah*, the case was reviewed and judgement awarded with the greatest care and attention lest it should be carried to the ears of the King that justice had not been done[2]. There was a chief *qazi* in the capital. A *qazi* was also posted in every large town and also headquarters of a *faujdar* in a *sarkar*. We find that each city and a large village possessed its local *qazi* who was generally appointed by the chief *qazi* of the province. There was also a provision of a *qazi* in every *parganah* headquarters.

There is an interesting docoment which reveals a *farman* of Emperor Shahjahan issued in 1633 relating to the effect that Qazi Abdul Hakim alvi, son of Qazi Abdur Rahim, having been given audience before the emperor, the post of the *Qazi* of *pargana haveli* Hajipur, which fell vacant in the death of his father is conferred upon him with all rights and authorities in accordance with the laws of *Shariat*, along

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1. *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp.336-38.
2. Brindaban, son of Rai Bharmal, *Lubb-ut-Tawarikh-i-Hind*, Add. 26251, fol. 80 a.Cf. P. Saran, op. cit., pp.362-63.

with the grant of 250 *bighas* of land in *Pargana haveli* Hajipur, *Suba* Bihar, as *madad-i-maash*, in lieu of his services as *Qazi* with usual conditions[1].

It appears that qazi was the highest officer of administrative canon law, both civil and criminal, while administration of religious endowment and *Shariat* affairs was vested in *sadr*[2]. From a number of instances it reveals that the *qazi* was empowered to certify and authenticate the agreement reached at between the provincial *diwan* and the foreign traders (i.e. the English) with regards to commercial purposes. It certainly shows the wide range of *qazi's* powers and responsibilities[3]. The *Hidayat-ul-Qawaid* lays down certain rules of procedure which a *qazi* was urged upon to adopt in dealing with cases. He should not hear the cases in the absence of any of the parties, that is, the plaintiff and the defendant and take evidence in the court of justice only. He should write carefully surety bonds, contracts, title-deeds, bail-bonds and other documents. He must not favour either of the litigants and discount recommendations and must always look to the *shariat* for the decision of the cases, Rules of conduct were also prescribed for the *qazis*. A *qazi* should not accept presents

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1. See K.K. Datta, *Some Firmans, Sanads and Parwanas*, pp.15-16.
2. *The provincial government of the Mughals*, pp.341-43. A document dated A.H. 1105 (1695 A.D.) issued by office of the provincial *sadr*, namely Khwaja Haji who appointed Syed Mohammad Miskin as *Qazi* in place of his father namely *Qazi* Abdul Hamid, with a grant of 100 bighas of land in *parganah* Kasmar (*sarkar* Saran). This clearly shows that office of the *qazi* was normally getting hereditary in character, a great flaw so far as it relates to admitting fresh talent to keep up the dignity and efficiency of judiciary.
3. *Diary of Strynsham Master*, Vol.II, p.272-75. *English Factories in India*, 1661-64, p.289. J.N. Sarkar, Administrative interference in saltpetre Trade of India in the 17th century, *Journal of Indian History*, April, 1941, p.44 f.n.51. The aforesaid sources illustrates a number of instances in Bihar the *qazi* authenticated the copy of the agreement the provincial *diwan* and the foreign travellers.

from the men of the place to which he was appointed and should decline to accept the invitations of feasts from all persons. He must always busy himself in the study of the books on law. He should keep company with scholars theologians and discuss with them principles and the questions of *fiqh* etc[1].

The records of Bhagalpur district[2] throw some light on the working organisation of the judicial department of *subah* Bihar under the Mughals. Towards the close of 18th century, there was a *zila qazi* in Bhagalpur which was only a *parganah* in *sarkar* Monghyr during the period under review. The *zila qazi* got his appointment by virtue of a *sanad* from the provincial *qazi*, known as *qazi-ul-quzat*. The records also reveals that in a single district which was only a parganah at that time, there were altogether as many as ninteen *qazi* for conducting the judicial administration and performing certain religious duties, viz, marriage and funeral rites sanctioning divorce etc. Such was the framework of judiciary of a district during the time of later Mughals when Mughal institutions has started towards collapse and decay. We may refer here, historically very important document in the form of a *parwana* of Mir Jafar, Nawab of Bengal (1757-1760) issued after the British victory at the 'Battle of Plassey' (15 July, 1757) which bears the attestation of seal of Qazi Muhammad Zahid Khan, the chief *Qazi* of *suba* Bihar[3].

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1. Hidayatullah Bihari, *Hidayat-ul-Qawaid*, Aligarh MS., ff.20-21.
2. K.K. Basu, 'Administration of Justice in Bhagalpur in Pre-British Days', *J.B.O.R.S.*, pt.III & IV, 1934, pp.275-78. The records belong to the close of the 18th century, immediately prior to the establishment of the court and relates the judicial organisation of Bhagalpur district then.
3. Persian Miscellaneous Documents No.26, preserved in National Archives of India, New Delhi.

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It may therefore, be concluded that a network of the *qazis* was spread over from provincial headquarters to the each *parganah* in the age of the great and even later Mughals. Each *parganah* was subdivided into smallest judicial circles where *qazi* performed varied duties, judicial as well as religious in nature. Various

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The description of *Parwana* reveals the fact that how Mir Jafar was hard pressed in fullfilling his promises made earlier to the Britishers. The *parwana* addressed to the *mutasaddis, naiks, faujdars, zamindars, chaudharis, qanungos* and staff of the *subas* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, informing them that the Company has been exempted from the payment of *mahsul* by the Imperial *farman* and *hasbul hukm*. Directs them that the commodities which the *gumashtas* of the Company bring to the *Kothis* and export elsewhere by land and water on the permit (*dastak*) of the Director (*Sardar-i-Kothi*) should not be obstructed on account of any cess or levy and that they (*gumashtas*) should be considered independent in the matter of sale and purchase. Moreover, the addressees are not to demand *sethi, mangan* and other *zamindari* taxes from them. The goods of the Company shall be sold and purchased through their *gumashtas*, and no broker shall interfere without their consent. The brokers should extend full cooperation to them and that persons not complying with the orders shall be punished for disobedience by the English. If the Company's goods are stolen anywhere, these shall have to be recovered and delivered to them, else they (addressees) shall be accountable for the same. Further, if any one has any claim against the traders, he must not try to realise the amount from the agent of the Company so that they (agents of the Company) are not harassed in any way. Likewise, no one should ever bother them on the pretext of *Kathbhara* in respect of their hired and private boats. Also advises them to accept and honour the Company, papers/documents when issued under the seal of qazi. Authorises the Company, having *Kothis* in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to build *Kothis* wherever it may like to do so, and that for this purpose 40 *bighas* of land shall be granted by the government for each *Kothi*. If the Company's ships are wrecked due to cyclone or heavy rains at the ports or elsewhere, the wreckage is to be safely delivered to the Company without demanding *Chauthai*. The Company has also been empowered to strike coins of gold and silver at Calcutta mint equal to the weight of *ashrafi* and rupee of Murshidabad and that these will be accepted in the Imperial treasury. Directs the officials concerned to comply with the orders and not to demand fresh sanads every year.

mohallahs in different district of Bihar still known as *Qazipura* were the office of *qazi* situated.

An inscription has been noticed which records the construction of a court of justice (*dar-ul-Adl*) during the governorship of Daud Khan Qureshi, in 1663[1]. It was situated near Khwaja Kalan Police station (Patna city). It clearly shows that in *subah* Bihar the judicial set up has so effective and strong that it also took the interest of constructing a separate house for the office of provincial judiciary.

But at the same time there is also instance of corruption which was prevailing in the judiciary. Manucci had recorded how one Khwaja Safar an Armenian merchant who happened to be the friend of Manucci came from Agra to Patna with a bill of exchange for Rs.25,000 in the name of a *sarraf* at Patna. But by the time the said merchant reached Patna, *Sarraf* had become bankrupt, *Khwaja Safar* taking advantage of his old acquaintance with the merchants of Patna, able to secure from them cloth worth Rs.30,000/- and despatched them to Surat, while he himself stayed at Patna It is very interesting that at the time of payment of money he declared himself to be bankrupt by lighting two candles in the morning. The merchants of Patna, therefore dragged him to the court of *qazi*. He bribed the *qazi* paying Rs.5,000. Accordingly, *qazi* delivered judgement that since *Khwaja Safar* had become insolvent because of the bankruptcy of the Patna *Sarraf* in whose name the Armenian merchant had brought from Agra the bill of exchange for Rs.25,000/-, so the merchants of Patna must accept the bills of exchange and recover the money from the local bankrupt *Sarraf*. The *qazi* remarked that it was unreasonable that a strange should suffer in a

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1. Q. Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar*, p.271-72.

strange country for no fault of his own[1]. This showed the degree of corruption then rampant in Mughal judiciary.

An interesting feature of the law and justice during the period under review in *subah* Bihar was the concept of local responsibility. Local officers were required to supervised the markets and watch over the morals of the people in rural areas. After a perusal of various contemporary documents it reveals that in Mughal Bihar every *pargana* possess a *qazi* who decided civil and ecclesiastical cases. He was the judge, the *Khatib* (Preacher) and *imam* of the mosque, supervisor of weights and measures, guardian of minor orphans and destitutes and helpless and the manager of the estate of the deceased in case of unclaimed property. There were instances in which the functions of a *qazi, muhtasib* (censor of morals) and the *Khatib* were discharged by one and the same person. The *qazi* is reported sometimes involved in teaching work as well[2].

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1. Storia-do-Mogor, Vol.II, p.84.
2. S.H. Askari, 'Gleanings From Miscellaneous Collections of Village Amathua in Gaya', *I.H.R.C.* p.II, 1951, pp.1-7 Professor S.H. Askari's article is based on the authority of a miscellaneous collections, comprising the contemporary *parwanas* and *sanads*, found in a village Amathua in the district of Gaya. These belongs to the age of Great Mughals and later Mughals relating to judicial and other aspect of administration in Bihar. Various farmans of Aurangzeb is also quoted here. But the conclusion gleaned from Amathua papers clearly show that every *parganah* had a *qazi* who decided civil and ecclesiastical cases and it had a host of officials of various categories to assist him in dispensation of justice in the remote rural areas of the province as well. It seems very interesting that most of the papers at Amathua belong to the period of the later Mughals, a period of decadence, but if they reveal wide net work of judicial working in province of Bihar then it can be reasonably assumed that a more organised and elaborate judicial system must have functioned in the glorious period of Great Mughals (from Akbar to Aurangzeb) and continued even under the later Mughals, though not in full view.

CHAPTER - V

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION IN BIHAR

In Mughal India land was the chief source of revenue. Assessment of land revenue and its collection was the prominent task of the revenue department.

For the purposes of revenue administration in a *subah* the *mauza* was the smallest unit for measurement, assessment and administration, with *muqaddam* as the headman. Every village consisted of two portions, the *abadi* (habited) area called as *deh* or *dehat* and the adjoining uncultivable (*Khastah* or *Parti*) area, the two together constituted an entire village. The boundary of every village was clearly demarcated through *chak-namah*. A complete record of the measurement, both cultivable and uncultivable land was maintained in a document called as *taqsim*. At the time of every harvest, a record of the lands under cultivation (*nuskha-i-zabt*) or *khasrah* was prepared. The assessment of the entire village was called as *jama* (assessed-revenue)[1].

The other territorial division was the *qasbah* which though occasionally comprised one large village, usually consisted of a number of *mauzas* within its circles, the number varying with every *qasbah*. The largest of the *mauza* gave its name to the *qasbah* and even to the *tappahs*[2].

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1. Karimuddin Ahmad, *Makhzanul Ansab*, Patna, p.217 Cf. B.R. Grover, '*Raqba Bandi* Documents of Akbar's Reign', I.H.R.C., Pt. II, 1961, p.59 f.n. 1618.
2. B.R. Grover, op. cit., p.59, f.n. 20.

So far as the functionaries in the set up of the land revenue administration in subah Bihar under Aurangzeb and later Mughals were concerned, *diwan-i-subah* had its headquarter at the provincial level capital and was the head of the financial affairs and considered as the second officer in the *subah*[1]. Though the *diwan* was placed at the head of the finance department, we find in the Abul Fazl's monumental work, *Ain-i-Akbari* that the chief *amil* or *amalguzar*, the revenue collector of a province carried the main burden of the revenue administration[2].

Abul Fazl states that *diwan's* duties included encouraging cultivation by distributing loans to poor peasants and collecting information from the village headmen about the cultivated lands. The assessment of lands was done either by fixing a definite share of the crop, whatever the yield, to go to the state (*batai*) or by the estimation of ripened crops *(Kankut*). The *amil* possessed the power to allow the husbandmen to choose either of these assessments. After assessment, a copy of its abstract was despatched to the central revenue department within fifteen days. The collection of revenue was either in cash or in kind. Though as Abul Fazl mentions that in Bihar province cash nexus was prevalent[3].

The *Ain* instructs the amalguzar to collect the revenue in an "amicable manner and extend not the hand of demand out of season[4]". The amil was enjoined to encourage direct payment of revenue by the cultivators to the state without any intermediary[5]. He was to keep a report of daily receipts and expenditure which he

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1. P. Saran, op. cit. p.281.
2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, pp.43-46.
3. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.165.
4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.46
5. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.46

despatched every month to the central government. The collected amount was deposited in the provincial treasury by the *amils*. The treasurer or the *fotadar* was instructed to give them official receipts for all such payments[1]. He was also instructed to get an endorsement on his register from the *patwari* (village accountant) to establish the amount of payment. In addition to these duties the chief *amil* had to keep watch on the work of his subordinate officials and to punish insurgents inorder to protect the peasantry[2].

We find that by the time of emperor Jahangir, the position of *diwan* became more stabilized and independent as well. The division of authority between the *diwan* and the *subahdar* was completed by the time of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb's *farmans* to Muhammad Hashim, the *diwan* of Gujrat issued in 1079 A.H. in (1669 A.D.) and Rasik Das Karori clearly indicates the provincial *diwan's* duties[3]. As the contents of these *farmans* reveals that the *diwan* would collect revenue from the *Khalsa mahals* and would keep the detailed accounts of the income and expenditure from it in his office[4]. The instructions contained in them were expected to be followed by the officers of both the crownland and the *jagir* lands. In fact one clause asks the addressees to report on the amils of those *jagirdars* who were not following them so that they could be punished. He was also expected to encourage the growth of cultivation by

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.49
2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.46.
3. *Farmans* translated by Sir J.N. Sarkar in *Mughal Administration*, Calcutta, Ist edn. 1963, pp.176-198. Prof. Irfan Habib mentions another copy of the first one in the British Museum in which the name is replaced by Mir Muiz, the *diwan-i-Khalsa* of Bihar (Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.222, f.n.17).
4. *Khulasat-us-Siyaq*, Add. No.6588, fol.72b-73b.

supplying every sort of help to the peasants. If any calamity befell the cultivation, the revenue would be reduced[1]. He was to keep an eye on the activities of all the local revenue officers so that they might not tyrannise over the cultivators by collecting more than the fixed amount. Supervision of lands assigned for charitable endowments and disbursing of salaries to officers of the provinces were also included duties of a provincial *diwan*[2]. As the provincial *diwan* corresponded directly with the imperial *diwan*, he was independent of the *subahdar*. The purpose of this administrative device was to maintain an effective check on the highest officials of the province and to ensure success in the provincial administration.

The *diwan* carried out his varied functions through a number of officials in the *sarkars* and *parganahs*. In the *sarkar* the *amil* or *amalguzar*, the *karori* and the *bitikchi* were the important functionaries. According to Aurangzeb's earlier *farmans* the *amils* were instructed to investigate the condition of the peasents in every village and they were ordered to try their best to bring barren (*banjar*) lands under cultivation[3]. The *amil* was asked to watch the standing crops with great care and fidelity; and after enquiring into the sown fields, they should carefully ascertain the loss according to the comparative state of the present and past produce (*hast-o-bud*[4]).

The post of *karori* was created by Akbar. In 1596 A.D. the whole of the Mughal territories, except Bengal, Bihar and Gujrat were converted into *Khalsa* or reserved lands[5]. The whole lands were then divided into districts and each district

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1. *Mughal Administration*, p.183.
2. *Khulasat-us-Siyaq*, fol.73b.
3. *Mughal Administration*, pp.193-94.
4. *Mughal Administration*, p.196.
5. *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p.296.

was expected to yield an average revenue of a *Karor* of *tankas* per annum. Those *amils* who were placed incharge of these districts came to be known as *Karori*[1]. But the later records reveals that this arrangement was subsequently discontinued but the title *karori* continued and it came to be applied to the collector of revenue. The fifth clause of Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas describes the revenue collector as *karori*, while the eleventh clause referes to him as *amil*, thus it appears that these two aforesaid terms were sometimes used synonymously[2].

The *bitikchi* of a *sarkar* performed the entire work of preparing the essential papers and records on the basis of which assessment and collection was carried out by the *amil*. He was assisted by the *karkun* and the *amin* in discharging his duties[3]. The *karkun* or *parganah* accountant kept a full record of transactions between the *parganah amin* (it seems better to call him, assessment officer) and the cultivators at the time of assessment. The records included the contracts made with cultivators about the payment of revenue after enquiring into the agricultural assests of every tenant, the boundaries of the lands and estimation of the amount of arable and waste land in each village. A copy was to be sent to the *amil* as well as to the *bitikchi*. Having received these records from each *parganah* accountant, the *bitikchi* would complete the survey of the villages of a *sarkar*, make an estimate of the total lands of each village and then finally work out the assessment of each cultivator[4]. On the basis of *bitikchi's* records the *amil* or *karori* would collect the revenue. Another duty

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1. *Khulasat-us-Siyaq*, fol.79a.
2. *Mughal Administration*, pp.191, 195, 197.
3. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, pp.47-48.
4. *Khulasat-us-Siyaq*, fol. 73b - 74a.

of a *bitikchi* was to records monthly income, expenditure and balance. At the end of the financial year he would submit the accounts through the *amil* of the *sarkar* to the provincial *diwan*[1]. Besides the assessment of land, the inspection of the collection of revenue according to assessment was the duty of the *pargana amin*[2]. The *patwari* was the village accountant. He used to keep records of such matters as the holdings of the villagers and the state due to collected from them[3]. It seems that probably two independent systems of accounts were maintained of which the *patwari* kept one and the *bitikchi* another.

The *Fotadar* or *Khazanadar* was the treasurer of the *pargana*. The *Khazanadar* had to inform the *karkun* and the *shiqdar* about regular deposits in the treasury. In order to keep his accounts in agreement with those of the *patwari*, his ledger was to be verified and signed by the *patwari*. The *Khazanadar* was not empowered to make any disbursements without an order of the provincial *diwan*[4].

Such was the general procedure of the revenue department in a province, but owing to the paucity of relevant source material it seem difficult to assume how far these general regulations were promulgated in *subah* Bihar. However, the occasional reference to a *bitikchi* or *karkun* or *patwari* in the English correspondence suggests that pattern described above. The *qanungos*, a hereditary class of local

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1. *Khulasat-us-Siyaq*, ff. 73b - 74a.
2. *Mughal Administration*, p.192.
3. *Khulast-us-Siyaq*, fol. 91b, 92a.
4. *Khulasat-us-Siyaq*, fol.84b.

assessors were important functionaries in the revenue administration of a province[1]. As described by Abul Fazl, there is one *qanungo* in every *pargana*. He further writes that at the present time the share of the *qanungo* (1% of the produce) is remitted and the three classes of them are paid by the state according to their ranks. The salary of the first according to Abul Fazl is Rs.50; of the second, 30; of the third, 20 and they carried an assignment for personal support equivalent thereto[2]. There is no evidence to show that in Bihar three ranks of *qanungos* were in existence. According to Aurangzeb's order there should not serve more than two qanungos in a *pargana*[3]. By dint of their office, they enjoyed such a position that he was called as "the refuge of the husbandman". Any how, the *pargana qanungo* was appointed by the *subahdar* and his duties were to compile the codes indicating local usage and custom. They were entrusted to record all circumstances relevant to landed property, its revenue, value and tenure. They also had to maintain records of transfers of lands and surveys of lands[4]. Thus it was the *qanungo* from whom the government got familiarity to the past, present and probable future state of the *pargana*. Before the *pargana amin* drew up his assessments, the *pargana qanungo* had to inform him about previous

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1. K.K. Basu, 'The *Qanungos* of Bhagalpur *I.H.R.C.* Vol. 37, 1962, pp.34-39. He refers a person named Aqil Muhammad who was appointed as *Qanungo* of *Pargana* Colgong under the authority of a *sanad* granted to his ancestors Rehmat and Karimulla in 1660 A.D. Prof. Hasan Askari. 'Bihar in the Time of Aurangzeb, *J.B.R.S.*, 1946, p.66, f.n. 2 also refers to a family of Kayasthas of village Bakhra of *sarkar* Hajipur whose ancestors served the office of *qanungos* under the Mughals.
2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.72.
3. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol.I, p.263. But the printed text mentions ten *qanungos*. Prof. Irfan Habib suggested that it must be a mistake for two. *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.289.
4. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol.I, p.263.

assessments, and when the *amin* prepared the rent roll the *qanungo* would sign it, and a *qabuliyat* (agreement) countersigned by the *chaudhuri*, was to be enclosed with it[1]. The *amil* of the *sarkar* was supposed to despatch a copy of the detailed accounts of the collections, arrears and expenses to the *qanungo's* office. The *qanungo* would check them with his own records. The *patwari* also sent their accounts to the local *qanungos*. The local *qanungo* was given instruction to place all his records before the *sadr qanungo* of the province. Probably, there is no other evidence to prove that the post of *sadr qanungo* existed before Aurangzeb's reign, so one may suppose that it was created by Aurangzeb. Dr. H.R. Ghosal on the basis of Muzaffarpur collectorate old records refers a *farman* of Aurangzeb relating to the appointment of a *sadr qanungo* in the *subah* Bihar in the 13th *Juloos* of his reign (1670 A.D.) which clearly proves the existence of this post[2]. This is very important and interesting *farman* which throws sufficient light not only on the existence of *sadr qanungo* and his functions but also on the nature of the working of Mughal administration particularly in the province of Bihar. It records that office of the *qanungo* was conferred in accordance with an ancient tradition in favour of Dhurneedhar, Jugat Ram and Roop Ram sons of Dhunraj and Lal Chand, the heirs apparent of kerodhum, so it seems that the office of *qanungo* was essentially hereditary in character and it continued to same family from heir to heir. This *farman* also reveals that the responsibility of the protection of their life and property lies on the higher officers of provincial government and their transfer depends on the pleasure of emperor. What is more interesting to

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1. *Khulasat-us-Siyaq*, fol.74a.
2. H.R. Ghosal, 'Two Mughal Farmans Relating to the Appointment of Sadr qanungo in Bihar.' *Proceeding of Indian History Congress*, Trivendrum, session, 1958, pp.431-35.

worth notice here that they had to communicate annually genealogical lists of families and accounts of the demographic change.

The next very important point of interest which dealt in his document is that the Mughal government's general attitude towards the lower ranks of the population like peasantry. This *farman* instructs them to take exertions for the welfare and betterment of labouring farmers so they should not be oppressed by anyone. Thus it appears that it was the deliberate policy of the state to keep the vast agricultural and proletariat class of population contented.

Among local potentates, *chaudhuris* also played a vital role in the revenue administration under the Mughals. The various *farmans* of Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb referred to by Moreland, show that the *chaudhuri* was the *pargana* headman and his position was almost hereditary. Though succession was not automatic, for a claimant had to secure recognition by the higher authorities. The evidence also display that the *chaudhuri* was enjoyed to encourage cultivation and to protect the peasant from the oppressions[1]. The preamble of Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas shows that when the *pargana amin* had drawn up the assessment the *chaudhuri* put his signature on it, together with the *quanungo*[2]. The *chaudhuries* were generally received rent-free land in lieu of his service and it was designated as *ina'm*[3]. In fact the designation of *chaudhuri* was an honorary title which was bestowed to trustworthy local *zamindars*.

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1. W.H. Moreland, 'The Pargana Headman (*Chaudhuri*) in the Mughal Empire,' *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society,* 1938, p.518.
2. *Mughal Administration*, pp.191.
3. W.H. Moreland, op.cit., p.515.

As regard to the revenue administration in the *jagirs* granted to the officers and in the lands of the *zamindars*, Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas mentions the *amins* and *karoris* of *jagirdars*[1]. Which suggests that the administration of *jagir* lands followed the same pattern as that of *khalsa* lands. The *jagirdars* possessed complete authority of management and administration of the *jagir,* including the power to appoint or dismiss *amils* of the former *jagir*[2]. The *jagirdars* also used to appoint their own *diwans* and *amins* for the realisation of the revenues of their *jagirs*. S.H. Askari refers a person named Ganga Ram who served as the *diwan* of Khan-i-Jahan Zafar Jung Kokaltash whose *jagir* was situated in Bihar when the latter was posted as viceroy of Deccan in 1680[3]. However, we find that due to their limited resources the *jagirdars* could not have employed the same set of officers as employed in the *Khalsa* lands, but of course, their agents or *gumashtas* too bore the same designations[4].

1. The Land Revenue Practices

On the eve of Mughal annexation of Bihar, the bulk of its area was held by a number of chiefs and petty landholders[5]. They enjoyed full liberty in their relations with the peasants and paid to the state dues which were in fact adjustable. The Mughals usually granted land to the *zamindars* when they accepted vassalage. They in return,

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1. *Mughal Administration*, pp. 197-98.
2. *Nigarnama-i-Munshi*, fol. 118a - 120b.
3. S.H. Askari, 'Bihar in the Time of Aurangzeb', *J.B.R.S.* 1946, p.159, f.n.15.
4. *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*, Eng. tr. Vol.II, p.666-68.
5. *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.187, Prof. Irfan Habib points out that a number of *Mahals* in *Sarkar* Rohtas and Bihar were ruled by local chiefs.

were allowed to pay a *peshkash* or tribute which was ultimately a fixed amount of money.

In *subah* Bihar as elsewhere throughout the Mughal Empire, three types of relationship subsisted between the holders of the land, namely, the state, *a'ima* and *jagirdars*. *Khalsa* lands were directly administered by the revenue department of the provincial government or through the revenue farmers called *ijaradars*. *Jagirs* or assignments granted to Mughals *mansabdars* (officers) for their maintenance. Moreland, rightly points out that the chief feature of the *jagir* system was to "set aside particular items of recurring revenue to meet particular items of recurring expenditure, usually, but not invariably, the salaries and expenses of the imperial service[1] ". He accordingly calls it the system of assignment of revenue or just assignment, which is nearer the correct position. Only the revenues of the lands were assigned to the holders, but they had no other administrative functions. But in certain cases the assignments carried special administrative functions. For example, the adjacent areas of important forts, such as Rohtas, were usually assigned to the commander of the fort (*Qiladar*).

Regarding the revenue system in Bihar, it involved assessment of land, rate of assessment, mode of payment and collection of state demands. There were three main systems of assessment, *ghallabakhshi*, *zabt* and *nasq* which were prevalent in Mughal times. *Ghallabkhshi* or crop division denotes the system of assessing and realising revenue by sharing the produce of land whether by actual division or by

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1. W.H. Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Muslim India*, Cambridge, 1929, p.93.

estimation[1]. According to Abul Fazal, the systems of *ghallabakhshi* was replaced by the *zabt* during the reign of Sher Shah and Islam Shah. The characteristic feature of the *zabt* system was the measurement of land every years and the fixing of *rai* or schedule of crop-rates. The cultivable land was classified into three categories of good, middling and bad (*zabun*); the standard yield, per *bigha* (or unit of area) of all the three categories was added up and an average struck by dividing it by three, and finally 1/3 of this average, stated in grain, was fixed as the state demand and that called as the *rai*. The state demand, though stated in grain, was commuted according to a price list into cash rates which known as denoted summary assessment on the village or some larger area as a unit. Irfan Habib has rightly point out that the *nasq* was not an independent method of assessment, but a "handmaid" of other methods, of both sharing and measurement[2]. Its essential feature was that there was no periodic assessment. The initial assessment once made, whether by measurement or by appraisement, was used subsequently.

The *zabt* system is stated to have prevailed in Bihar from 19th regnal year of Akbar but not completely[3]. It is said that out of 200 *parganas* only 138 were placed under *zabt* system towards the close of Akbar's reign[4]. It is however, improbable that the *zabt* covered all of the land in any province. Thus, in all its essentials the system of *zabt* appears to have continued unaltered in the 17th century as is evident from the *farman* issued to Rasikdas *Karori* in the 8th regnal of Aurangzeb. But so far

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, pp.44-45.
2. For details, see Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp.215-19.
3. *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp.221-22.
4. W.H. Moreland and Yusuf Ali, 'Akbar's Land Revnue System as described in the *Ain-i-Akbari' Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1918, pp.10-36.

as assessment is concerned, the two *farmans* of Aurangzeb issued to Rasikdas and Mohmmad Hashim show that the distinctive feature of Akbar's assessment system had almost disappeared. While Akbar tolerated in special cases both the old practice of crop division (*ghallabakhshi*) and the existing method of summary or group assessment (*nasq*), he relied mainly on the system known as *zabt*, the essence of which lay in the equitable, though not lenient assessment of each individual peasant on his crops of season, the area being determined on the spot by *jarib* and the revenues fixed by the application of cash rates representing the average of one third of the yield. In Aurangzeb's time the crop division was invogue only in backward tracts, the standard procedure was the summary assessment applied either to the whole *parganah* or to village. It fits in closely with what one knows of the procedure of the *masq*, and so one is apparently justified in concluding that under Aurangzeb *nasq* was the rule, and that measurement (*jarib*) was operative only in cases in which *amil's* initial assessment was unacceptable to the cultivator. Thus under Aurangzeb summary assessment (*nasq*) regained the position from which it had been ousted by the regulation system (*zabt*). As to when this change occured, it is not definitely known, but it may be presumed to have begun from Jahangir's reign. The rate of assessment and revenue demand under Akbar was one third (1/3) of the gross produce, while Aurangzeb's later *farman* shows that the rate was risen to one half (½)[1] which represented very nearly the entire surplus of an ordinary holding. We find in the sixteenth clause of an ordinary holding. We find in the sixteenth clause of the Aurangzeb's *farman* to Muhammad Hashim, that "if a man, whether Hindu or Muslim,

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1. *Mughal Administration,* p.181.

is not the owner of a revenue paying land, but has only bought it or hold it in *pawn*, he ought to enjoy the profit from whatever is produced in it, collect it from him the proper portion which has been fixed (as revenue) provided that the share is neither more than one-half nor less than one-third (of the total crops)[1]. So it is evident from the above statement that one half was intended to be the working rule, while a one-third assessment was also possible.

As regards to the medium of payment Ain prescribed payment of revenue in cash, the *amils* were instructed not to be rigid about the medium of payment. "Let him not make it a practice of taking only in cash payments, but also in kind[2]." Abul Fazl mentions in his "Account of twelve *subahs*" that in Bihar revenue was generally paid in cash and not by division of crops between landlord and tenant[3]. The *Ain* instructs the *fotadars* (treasurer) to receive from the peasants any kind of *mohurs*, rupees or copper that he may bring and not demand any particular coin. No discount was to be charged on the current coins except when the coin was deficient in weight, in that case only the equivalent of the deficiency in weight was to be taken. Coins of the former periods were treated as bullion[4]. Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas (clauses) lays down the rules in regard to the coins which were to be received in the provincial treasuries in payment of land revenue. There was an emphasis on payment in '*Sicca*' current Alamgiri coins. All these leads to include that Aurangzeb also favoured cash payment and encouraged the system by issuing various farman to this effect.

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1. *Mughal Administration*, p.188.
2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.44.
3. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.165.
4. *Ain-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.49.

The revenue was collected, if necessary, in instalments according to the harvesting time. The collection for the *rabi* crop was done during March and that of *Kharif* in October. We find that during the reign of Akbar the amount of revenue was collected in eight monthly instalments[1]. As described by Mirza Nathan there were two collections in the year, one at the autumn harvest and the other in the spring[2]. Though the system continued under Aurangzeb, his *farman* to Muhammad Hashim records that "the collection of revenue should be begun and the payment demanded at the appointed time, according to the mode agreed upon in every *parganah* for the payment of the instalments of revenue". It also states that "you yourself should every week call for reports and urge them not to let any portion of the fixed instalments fall into arrears. If by chance a part of the first instalment remains unrealised, collect it at the time of second instalment[3]." However, this indicates that revenue could be collected in instalments during the time of Aurangzeb as well and even under later Mughals.

Under Akbar and Aurangzeb, both revision of revenue was made, when the crop was damaged[4]. However, this had to led to great fraud in misreporting the truth, and to check it, Aurangzeb had, in his *farman*, to Rasikdas, called upon the reporting officers to verify the report on the failure of the crop, before recommending for the remission of the revenue.

Under Akbar the practice of assignments was discouraged as a matter of general policy. But we find under Aurangzeb the extension of the practice of making

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.122.
2. *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*, Vol.II, p.779-80.
3. *Mughal Administration*, p.194.
4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.48.

assignments became the usual feature in the land revenue administration[1].

Apart from land-revenue, there were several other taxes directly or indirectly collected by the common folk, such as *mahsul* or customs in exports and imports, *rahdari*, or inland-toll collected at road side stations etc. These taxes were known as *Sair* duties and were also to be collected by the revenue department. *Jiziya* was another charge, an additional source of income, which non-Muslims were supposed to pay during the time of Aurangzeb since its reimposition in 1679-80. Hovhannes, a noted Armenian merchant also reports that he paid *Jiziya* on the very first day of his arrival at Surat. He has mentioned several entries testifying the payment of *jiziya* during his stay in India (1682-93). In 1688 Hovhannes paid Rupees 9/- for himself and his servant which furnish the idea that the rate of payment was perhaps Rs.4.5 per capita[2]. So accordingly we find that a separate post of *Amin-i-Jiziya* was created during the reign of Aurangzeb.

The revenue measures of Aurangzeb as stated above, in their effect on peasant reversed Akbar's policy of direct dealings with them and inter-posed various intermediaries like headmen of the villages (*maqaddams*) and (*chaudharis*), who were in a position to appropriate a portion of state's demand or to buy additional contributions on the original payees. Aurangzeb's *farmans* to Rasikdas *Karori* and

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1. W.H. Moreland, 'Land Revenue System of Mughal Emperors' *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society,* London, 1922, p.30.
2. Levon Khachikian, 'The ledger of Merchant Hovhannes Jonghayetsi, '*Journal of Asiatic Society* 1966, p.172. *Jiziya* was levied annually and its rate was determined accordingly to the status of person-concerned. According to one document the minimum rate was Rs.3/- and anas 2 per annum. Cf. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp.245-46.

Mohammad Hashim contains no reference to the practice of 'farming' the revenue (*ijaradari*), but undoubtedly that the farming provided widely in the middle of the seventeenth century. Between the farmers assignees, and headman therefore, a larger proportion of the peasants was placed under masters other than the state and the foundation of modern *zamindari* was thus laid down[1]. This practice of converting the village headman from farmer or assignee into land holder or *zamindar* by appointing him on farming-tenure had begun as early as the days of Jahangir[2]. Under rule as stated before, the idea of exerting pressure on peasants to compel them to till the land was not absent, but greater stress was laid on inducements so that the peasants might voluntarily be encouraged to do it. Under Aurangzeb, the practice of exerting pressure became worse as is evident from the *farman* of Mohammad Hashim (clause-2). Even flogging was prescribed for the recalcitrant peasant[3]. The result was that it defeated the objective, i.e. the encouragement of cultivation and peasants and ultimately the peasants began to take the flight[4]. Hence Aurangzeb had to include in his farman to Rasikdas to encourage the peasants to come back and take to cultivation afresh[5]. Hidayatullah Bihari writes that the *mansabdars* presumably holding *jagirs* "throw the burden (of their exertions) upon the peasants, and the peasants are without help. When the peasants become disperate from their lives, they absconded from the

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1. W.H. Moreland, op.cit., p.31.
2. *Agrarian system of Mughal India*, p.173, Prof. Irfan Habib refers two *farmans* of Jahangir which confirmed the *zamindari* and *chaudhuri* of some tappas in *sarkar* Monghyr Bihar as a *Khidmat,* a post of service, Cf. *I.H.R.C.* 1942, pp.188-89.
3. *Mughal Administration,* p.177.
4. Bernier, p.205.
5. *Mughal Administration*, pp.193-94.

raiyati country (governed by imperial administration) and making their way to the country of rebellious *zamindars*, thus become well populated and the rebels gain in power every day[1]. So the author attributes increasing oppressions of the peasantry by the *mansabdars* to the fact that the latter did not hold high *mansabs* due to the scarcity of sufficient land which ultimately led to the *jagirdari* crisis during the reign of Aurangzeb. So the *mansabdars* could not afford to maintain contingents large enough to deal with the seditious elements. They accordingly stood in need of money and since they could not take any thing from the powerful *zamindars*, their hands felt heavily upon the peasants. No specific evidence regarding crisis in *jagirdari* systems has been traced so far in case of Bihar. But since the author of *Hidayat-ul-Qawaid* was a resident of Bihar and his work completed just after a decade of Aurangzeb's death. So it may be supposed that these situations must have been prevailed there as well[2].

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1. *Hidayat-u-Qawaid*, Aligarh MS. fol56 a - b.
   Cf. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.336.
2. Khafi Khan also examines and analyses the reasons of the collapse of *mansabdari* system and attributes the failure to the considerable increase in the number of available *jagirs*. He writes that, "Not to speak of others even records keepers of official grades at the court and clerks of the great *Bakhshis* do not known the number of young men, who have *mansab* of 6000 and 7000. There are high *mansabdars* without reputation and low *mansabdars* beyond reckoning, but at the same time no *mahal* is left in the *Khalsa*, past arrears are not released, and no money comes into the treasury. It is no use complaining about lack of *jagirs* and non-receipt of cash payments. One should, in justice, drawback one's feet within the skirt of patience and be content with the name of a *mansab* that bears no fruit". See Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol.I, pp.759-60, Vol.II, pp.396-97, 411-12, 602-603, 775. Cf. Anees Jahan Syed, *Aurangzeb in Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Bombay, 1977, pp.XIX-XX.

2. Revenue Statistics

The first revenue settlement in *subah* Bihar was made in A.D. 1582 by Todarmal in the reign of Akbar. According to which the gross revenue was calculated in rupees 55,47,985 (22,19,404.5 *dams*)[1]. In the second revenue settlement or *Jama tumari*, the *subah* was divided into 246 *parganahs*, and an enhancement of 2,21,24,138 *dams*, was effected, making the total revenue, 39,43,44,532 *dams*, or Rs.85,15,683. This new *jama tumar* (rent roll) was given effect to in 27th regnal year of Aurangzeb's reign, 1685. The third revenue settlement of subah Bihar, 1707 A.D. records an increase of 13,42,10,826 *dams*, making the total revenue 52,85,55,358 *dams* (Rs.1,32,13,870).

A comparative study of revenue reports of 1582 A.D. in Bihar with the second revenue settlement in this province in the 27th regnal year of Aurangzeb in 1685 and the third revenue settlement assignable to 1707 A.D. brings to light the following variation in the numbers of *parganahs* of different *sarkars* in Bihar.

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II (tr.) pp.165-68. Cf. Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, New Delhi, 1982, Table I.

S.No.	REVENUE SETTLEMENT IN 1582		REVENUE SETTLEMENT IN 1685		REVENUE SETTLEMENT IN 1707	
	Sarkar	Parganah	Sarkar	Parganah	Sarkar	Parganah
1.	Bihar	46	Bihar	54	Bihar	57
2.	Monghyr	31	Monghyr	40	Monghyr	40
3.	Rohtas	18	1. Rohtas	7	1. Rohtas	7
			2. Bhojpur (Shahabad)	11	2. Bhojpur (Shahabad)	12
4.	Tirhut	74	Tirhut	102	Tirhut	97
5.	Hajipur	11	Hajipur	11	Hajipur	12
6.	Saran	17	Saran	18	Saran	18
7.	Champaran	03	Champaran	03	Champaran	03
Total	7	200	8	246	8	246

After the perusal of these three permanent revenue rolls it appears that the difference between the three represent an increase of 46.98 lakhs of rupees only, effected in the course of a century and quarter[1].

As recorded by Francois Bernier who was in the India from 1656-68, the revenue of Bihar or Patna was 95,80,000 rupees and this province had 8 *sarkars* and 245 *parganahs*[2].

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1. Firminger, Ven. W.K. (ed.), *The Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company,* dated 28 July 1812, Vol.II, Calcutta, 1917, pp.437-38.
   All the figures regarding second revenue settlement of 1685 A.D. have been taken from the above source. The figures of third revenue settlement based on miscellaneous documents (*Koghazat-i-Mutafirriqa*) 1707 A.D. British Museum 6586 ff. 98a-101b. which is based on official figures and documents (*daftar Khalsa-i-Sharifa* and *tan*). Rotograph, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh.
2. Bernier, op.cit., p.457.

Among the Persian Chronicles, Rai Chaturman's *Chahar Gulshan*, written in 1173, (1759-60), deserves consideration in order to have an approximate idea of real state of its finances. Irfan Habib is of the opinion that it furnishes the revenue statistics of Bihar during the last years of Aurangzeb's reign[1]. But Sir J.N. Sarkar has assigned the upper limit for 1720. However, in the context of *subah* Bihar the testimony of *Chahar Gulshan* is more reliable than that of Sujan Rais's *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*. It is true that later work was compiled by its author in the 40th regnal year of Aurangzeb i.e. A.H. 1107 (A.D. 1695) but he was a native of Batala (Punjab) and as such he had little knowledge of eastern provinces like Bengal, Assam, Orissa etc. In case of Bihar probably he has merely reproduced the information recorded in the *Ain*.

However, *Chahar Gulshan*[2] records that there were 8 sarkars in *subah* Bihar, namely, Bihar, Tirhut, Hajipur, Rohtas, Shahabad, Saran, Monghyr and Champaran having in all 252 *parganahs*. The total revenue (*Jama*) as described by this source was 37,84,17,380 *dams* (94,60,434.5 rupees) (the *Sarkar* wise total however comes to 37,85,981 *dams*).

Mirat-ul-Alam compiled in A.D. 1667 gives the revenue of Bihar in the days of Aurangzeb as 72,07,97,019 *dams*[3].

Halat-i-Mamluk Mahrosah Alamgiri, is an administrative manual relating to the period of Aurangzeb. It supplies the revenue figures of Bihar for his third

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1. *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.3.
2. Chahar Gulshan, fol. 64b-65a, Patna MS. Cf. *India of Aurangzeb*, op.134-35.
3. *Mirat al-alam*, fol. 405b, Patna MS

regnal year which amount to 40,71,61,000 dams or rupees 87,56,150[1].

Destur-ul-amal-Alamgiri which was drawn up at the order of Aurangzeb in the 3rd regnal year gives also an account of the revenue of Bihar as 54,53,00,915 *dams* approximately[2]. But Irfan Habib says that the *Jama* figures of *subah* of Bihar from 1595 onwards gradually increased to an all time high in 1656 and receded in the following years. But it never went below 40,71,81,000 *dams* (which is assigned to the year 1687-1709)[3].

During the later Mughal period last revenue settlement was made in the time of Ahmad Shah in 1750 during the *Nawabi* of 'Alivardi Khan and the '*amaldari* and *Na'ib Diwani* of Jankiram, both of whom were intimately familiar with the conditions prevailing in Bihar. Bihar now comprised 8 ***sarkars*** as before. But the number of component *parganas* had changed. There were now 237 *parganas* and 65 *Sa'ir mahal jagir* or *Khalisa* covering 31,940 villages, of which 7,904 were "appropriated in *Nankar Malikanah* to *zamindars* etc. or religious and charitable donations (***madad-i-ma'ash, a'imma, sayurghals***)". The remaining number 24,036 "with *Ruckbah*", "measuring 27,53,156 *bighas* of 3600 square yells each or nearly an English acre" were only assessed for revenue. The rent-roll (called '*Ausil Toomary* or *Toomar Jummah Ruckbah*') now amounted to sicca Rs.95,56,098 or roughly 95½ lakhs as against Rs.1,01,79,141 (or *hasil-i-kamil*). This marked an increase of 1/8th

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1. *Halat-i-Mamluk Mahrosah Alamgiri*, Rotograph Copy, Department of History, A.M.U. No.51. It was written in the 3rd regnal year of Aurangzeb i.e. 1660 by the order of Emperor Aurangzeb.
2. *Dastur-ul-Amal-Alamgiri*, Rotograph copy, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh.
3. *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp.401-2.

over the figures of 1685 due to "progressive improvement" of *jagir* lands and reform in Bihar finances.

Revenue Settlement, 1750

Sarkar	*Parganas & Sa'ir Mahals*	Raqbah measurement in *Bighas* of 3600 yells	*Jama Tumari* in *Dams* of 56 to a rupee on a medium	Total Standard Revenue in Rupees
Mahal				
1. Bihar	54	9,52,593	23,06,77,954	38,48,800
2. Monghyr	40	3,09,036	6,21,73,618	8,98,952
3. Rohtas	7	4,73,343	3,44,60,008	5,39,565
4. Shahabad	11		4,96,49,346	8,26,745
5. Tirhoot	93	2,66,464	4,17,59,644	8,20,042
6. Hajipur	11	4,36,952	5,21,83,036	8,28,100
7. Saran	18	2,29,052	4,18,72,239	9,29,856
8. Champaran	3	85,711	1,15,82,045	2,00,217
Sa'ir Peshkash *Nizamat Sa'ir* of the *subah* & only portion of the *Khalisa*	65	———	1,18,35,300	6,63,717
Total	302	27,53,156	53,61,93,190	95,56,098

The increase of nearly 10½ lakhs rupees in the settlement of 1750 was caused by several real changes though the old territorial divisions of *sarkars* and *mahals* nominally continued. As the contribution to the central revenues remained small, the surplus revenue went to the *Nawab*. Again, new estates were created in

different areas for dependants and favourites of the *Nawab* without proportionate reduction in the revenue payable by the landowners whose lands were thus squeezed. The new grantees had to pay a revenue which meant of further profit for the *Nawab*. The example was profitable initiated by the big landowners in their own estates. As Q. Ahmad observes: "In addition to this constant spoliation and forcible transfer of estates, there was the unceasing resumption of rent-free tenures, and the creation of all sorts of fresh imposts, under the generic title of *sa'ir* or "remainder" and other quaint technical names, mostly in order to provide an income for the various ranks of officials, or to meet some new extravagance of the *subahdar* himself[1]."

As regards for the extension of total cropped land, it seems difficult to find out the areas actually tilled in 17th 18th centuries in Bihar. The information given in *Ain* about the measured area are not comprehensive for the subah as it gives no area figures for the whole *sarkar* of Monghyr and various *parganahs* of other sarkars go unmentioned[2]. We find that even during the last years of Aurangzeb's reign, out of a total of 55,376 villages, only 31,340 were measured in *subah* Bihar[3]. But this measured areas can not be treated as total cropped area as it also included cultivable waste and fallow land as well. Thus it seems difficult to ascertain the total land under cultivation during the period under review.

However, since the province of Bihar is alluvial, its soil is rich and fertile. It produced a large number of crops of which the opium and saltpetre manufactured

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1. Q. Ahmad, *Medieval India A Miscellanry*, Pt.II, pp.275-278.
   For details see Comprehensive History of Bihar, Vol.II, p.322.
2. See *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, tr. Jarrett and Sarkar, pp.165-68.
3. *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.4.

chiefly in *sarkars* of Saran and Hajipur, yielded ten lakhs of rupees alone. Grain, sugar, indigo, oil, betel leaf were major items of produce. When a comparison is made between the articles of export and import, the conclusion drawn at that time was a clear balance of trade in favour of Bihar to the rate of 50 lakhs per annum[1]. So this may be counted as one of the causes for the rising *Jama* figures in *subah* Bihar.

The Land Tenures

3. Madad-i-maash Grants:

The grant of *madad-i-maash* land formed another important practice in the field of land revenue administration. Abul Fazl called it as Suyurghal and recites its characteristics in the following words:-

> "His Majesty (Akbar) from his desire to promote rank distinctions, confers lands and subsistance allowances on the following four classes of men, first on enquirers after wisdom who have withdrawn from all worldly occupations, and make no distinctions between night and day-time in searching after true knowledge; secondly on such as toil and practice self denial ... thirdly, on such as are weak and indigent and possess no, strength for enquiry; fourthly on honourable men of gentle birth who for want of knowledge are unable to provide for themselves by adopting a means of livelihood[2]."

Emperor Jahangir, aptly remarks them the 'army of prayers' and is said to have commented that they were as essential as the real army[3].

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1. Firminger, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.433-35.
2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I (Eng. tr. Blochman) p.268, *Madad-i-maash*, literally means a grant of land for subsistance See also, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.298.
3. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p.5.

The lands were granted under this system either as rewards for services rendered, or as endowments for the maintenance of religious institutions, sanctuary like mosques, *rauzas* or shrines and educational institutions like *Khanqahs* and the men of learning and piety or to religious devotees including the weak and the destitute. These grants were essentially charitable in nature. The recipient was not called upon to perform any duty except the praying for prosperity and continuity of the Kingdom. A document[1]. Dated 8 regnal year of Aurangzeb (1666 A.D.) issued under the seal of Jafar Khan, his *wazir* and Abid Khan, *Sadr-al-Sudur* records the imperial sanction in respect of 5½ *dam-i-muradi bila-qusur per diem* out of the *mahsul* of *Pargana* Okri, *Sarkar* and *Suba* Bihar for the expenses of illumination, *farsh* and maintenance of the staff of the mosque in village Saidabad. It bears the attestation seal of *Qazi* wali Mohammad. Equally interesting is the *Zimn* (endorsement) on the reverse of the document which provides the following details of the expenditure :-

1. Abd-al-Qadir, son of Nur Mohammad, *imam* 1 *dam.*
2. Farid, son of Kanu, water carrier (*Saqqa*) 1 *dam.*
3. *Muazzin* (caller for the prayers) and *Jarubkash* 3 *dam.*
4. Expenses on lighting and *farsh* of the mosque ½ *dam.*

However, under *madad-i-maash* grant the land was exempted from the payment of revenue. The grantees enjoyed the revenue from the land without having any fiscal obligations and royal demands. But such grants could continue only on the

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1. Ed. R.K. Perti, *Calendar of Acquired Documents* (1352-1754), Vol.II, N.A.I. New Delhi, 1986, pp.17-18. I am thankful to my colleague Mr. Zakir Husain, Archivist (OR) who has kindly attracted my attention towards this document.

pleasure of the emperor or his successors[1]. The emperor was empowered to resume them at any time. They were not transferable. Even the grantees had no right to pass them on to their heirs apparent without the imperial confirmatory order. Irfan Habib refers the *fate* of a *farman* of Jahangir in connection to a grant of 3,500 *bighas* land in Bihar, when its holder passed away. It records that only 1,000 *bighas* out of 3,500 were regranted (700 too the deceased's widow and 3,00 to the son who applied for the same)[2]. This *farman* indicates that the confirmation or confiscation totally depended on the discretion of the emperor. But in 1690 Aurangzeb issued a *farman* by which *madad-i-maash* grants became generally hereditary[3].

We may refer to two extant *firmans* of the reign of Aurangzeb bearing emperor's seal issued during 1662-63 and 1699 (photocopies of which are attached herewith at illustration A & B respectively)[4]. The first *firman* of Aurangzeb dated 20 Muharram 5 regnal year 1662-63 records that according to the sanad of *Amirul Umara* Shaista Khan, Syed Mansoor, *Sajjadanashin* was granted village Medha in *pargana Balkh Sarkar* and *suba* Bihar as his *madad-i-Maash* and for meeting out the expenses of his *khanqah*. Consequent upon his death the land was resumed to *Khalsa Sharifa*. Since the deceased left behind a large family to maintain, as well as students, pious men and mendicants without any means of livelihood the imperial order was issued for the confirmation of the said village in favour of Syed Tajuddin son of late Syed Mansur as usual with exemption from payment of various cesses etc. Another *firman*

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1. W.H. Moreland, *Agrarian System of Muslim India*, p.99
2. *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.305.
3. *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.306.
4. Both the *farmans* are preserved in Bihar State Archives, Patna.

چون سپیاد تماب

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پنجاو نشین ق

نظر اشرف اقدس اعلی گذشت ابعرض ... رسید که مضیق پ

کن السلطنه العظمی مؤتمن الدوله البهیه معتمد الحضرة الخاقانیه قدوة الامرا ع

پاله خوانین کرام عظیم الشان عمدة الملک یار وفادار ... الامر

متعلق به پرگار و صوبه بهار در بسته در وجه مدد معاش و خرج خا

ده و ثانی الکار پرگنه مزبور بخالصه شریفه متعلق گشته و او فوت شده و مشار الیه بجلی

جمعی کثیر از طلبه و صلحا و فقرا وابسته دارد و از هیچ ممر وجه حیثیت آن

ضی نیست لهذا حکم جهان مطاع واجب الاتباع صادر شد که موضع مر

وابسته از خریف پارس ئیل در وجه مدد معاش او و خرج خانقاه مزبور

از فصل و سال بسال صرف مایحتاج خود نموده بدعا بقا دولت ابد مدت

می باید که حکام و عمال و جاگیرداران و کروریان حال و استقبال در ... و ا

موضع مرقوم را بتصرف موما الیه واگذاشته اخراجات مزبور باز گذاشته از شوایب تغیر

شناسند و بعلت مال و جهات و اخراجات مثل قلغه و پیشکش و محصلانه و جهرانه

رود و دیهی و مقدمی قانونگویی و کل تکالیف دیوانی و مطالبات سلطانی مزاحمت

ها فرمان و پروانه مجدد نطلبند و نیز حکم میشود زمینی که در دیه مزبور افتاده باشد اگر

د نمایند مزاحم نشوند و اگر در محلی دیگر چیزی داشته باشد آنرا اعتبار نکنند تاریخ بیستم محرم سنه پنج از جلو

Illustration - A

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Illustration - B

of Aurangzeb dated 43 regnal year (1699) stating that as per the *firmans* of Akbar and Jahangir, 400 *bighas* of land together with date-trees and orchards from village Rampur, *pargana haveli* and *Sarkar* Hajipur *Suba* Bihar was in *madad-i-maash* grant of Shaikh Abdus Samad and Shaikh Mohammad. Consequent upon the death of original grantees it was resumed in the *jama* (revenue assessment). Since Mst. Bibi Sharifa and others were being subjected to undue interference and illegal money was exacted from them and the heirs of the deceased were alive, firm and in possession of the said land they solicited *firman* for its exclusion from *jama*. Accordingly orders were issued for its exemption from revenue assessment with usual immunity from payment of all fiscal claims. It is quite obvious that the policy of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan was continued during the period under review as well and the Mughal emperors favoured rehabilitation of the God fearing and poor class of society. They not only remained interested in extention of cultivation but also evinced much interest in promoting horticulture.

Interesting enough the document also contains details of 10 yearly revenue realization statement or *mawazna-idehsala* of the village which was assigned in entirety to the said grantee which is rarely found in such documents. The total measured area of the village has been shown as 1000 *bighas*. 10 yearly revenue statistic of which have been delineated as per the following details on the reverse of the document.

Regnal Year of Shahjahan	Date AH/AD	Amount of *Hasil* (Actual Realisation) Rs.
23	1060/1650-51	340
24	1061/1651-52	344
25	1062/1652-53	344
26	1063/1653-54	342
27	1064/1654-55	371
28	1065/1655-56	377
29	1066/1656-57	388
30	1067/1657-58	388
31	1068/1658-59	371
1 Regnal Year of Aurangzeb	1069/1659	379

On the basis of the above, the ten yearly average was worked out which arrived about Rs.365 per annum, which was the standard formula applied in ten yearly revenue settlements under the Mughals.

A careful study of a number of documents of *madad-i-maash*, some of them quite contemporary and other as good as contemporary in subah Bihar, throws a flood of light on the subject. They refer to such procedure as verification and confirmation about the fitness of the grantee by the *qazi* and *sadr* who were respectively incharge of the *Shariat* law and ecclesiastical matters before the settlement of the grant of *madad-i-maash* land could be actually made with the grantee. There were instructions to the *gumashtas* of the *jagirdars* and the civil officers of the revenue department to measure the boundaries of the villages and fix the *chak* of the lands of the grantee in order to avoid malpractices which had been rampant in the grant of

madad-i-maash lands.

Thus, we find that *madad-i-maash* grants were quite common in Bihar as well. Either the emperor or the *subahdar* conferred these grants. S.H. Askari refers to a very important document of *madad-i-maash* grant of 50 *bighas* land in village Sadullahpur Satan which was renewed by Safi Khan, *subahdar* of Bihar in 1681 in the name of Shaikh Bayazid and others who were the keepers of 'Mamoon Bhanja' mausoleum at Jaruha under *sarkar* Hajipur[1]. This document also records the *sanads* granted by previous subahdars of Bihar i.e. Ibrahim Khan, Amir Khan. It is said that the family of the original holder had migrated to Jahangirnagar (Dacca) due to the severe famine of 1670-71 and in consequence, the revenue officials confiscated the land and fixed a Jama (assessed revenue) of Rs.19/- on it. But on the arrival of original grantee, his request was considered and restoration of his previous grant came into effect.

Sometimes conditional *madad-i-maash* grants were also made. One of its kind as referred to by Q. Ahmad, it records simultaneously two *sanads* of appointment of *Qazis* in *pargana* Mehsi (district Champaran) which show that they received ex-officio *madad-i-ma'ash* grants[2].

S.H. Askari further mentions one more instance of *madad-i-ma'ash* grants of 300 *bighas* of land by Aurangzeb dated A.H. 1083 (1673 A.D.) in favour of Shah Abdul Nabi and Fatima for the management of the *Khanqahs* of Shaikh Budd Sufi

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1. S.H. Askari, 'Some documents relating to the Mausoleum of Mamoon Bhanja at Jaruha, near Hajipur, *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol.XVI, 1946-47, S.N. 129.
2. Q. Ahmad, A note on pargana Mehsi, *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, pt.III and IV, 1958, p.192.

and Mulla Karimullah both were scholar-saint of village Amathua in *pargana* Jehanabad (Gaya district). Mulla Muhammad Shafi and Mulla Muhammad Faiq, a great scholar of Bihar and one of the members of the syndicate of celebrated theologians for the compilation of '*Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* received revenue free lands of 130 and 150 *bighas* respectively in lieu of their distinguished scholarly pursuits[1].

Daud Khan Quraishi, famous *subahdar* of Bihar (1659-64), owing to his distinguished services for the cause of the Mughals, was also granted four thousand *bighas* of lands in *pargana* Anchha (Gaya) for the rehabilitation of Daud Nagar and his personal expenditure as *altamgha* (reward). A *farman* of emperor Muhammad Shah dated A.H. 1131 (1719 A.D.) records that as per earlier *farman* of Aurangzeb the descendants of Daud Khan Quraishi i.e. Hamid Khan and Ahmad Khan were confirmed to their *madad-i-maash* lands of 4,000 *bighas*. The directives were issued to the revenue officials in effect to this *farman*[2].

A *sanad* dated 10 Muharram, 1079 A.H. (June 10, A.D. 1668) asked the officials of *parganah* Bhilaawar (*Sarkar* Bihar), not to give trouble to the holders of rent-free (*madad maash*) lands who were granted the land for the maintainence of the mosques and *Khanqahs*. Thus apart from men of piety and scholarship, the temple

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1. S.H. Askari, 'Gleanings from Miscellaneous Collection of Village Amathua in Gaya. *Proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission*, p.II, 1951, pp.3-4, f.n.18. The documents begin with *Quranic* text a feature not found in the usual grant of *madad-i-maash*. The documents also bears the endorsements of Rizvi Khan, the Chief *sadr*, Asad Khan the chief *bakhshi* Shaikh Abdul and Mohandas, but the *Waqia-nawis* in one is Mirza Beg and in the other is Mohammad Baqar. (Ibid.)
2. S.A. Rauf, 'Nawab Daud Khan subahdar of Bihar, '*Ma'arif* Vol.40, 1937, pp.378-379.

of God and institution of learning were also the recipient of *madad-i-maash* lands[1].

There was also the practice of granting *madad-i-maash* land for meeting the expenses of a *rauzah* as is evident from a *farman* of Aurangzeb dated 22 *Rabi* I, 1102 A.H. (December 14, 1690 A.D.) bearing as many as 13 seals of both Hindu and Muslim officials while granting the lands for the expenses of *rauza* of Mohammad Shaikh Nuruddin Hussain son of Shaikh Badr Alam[2].

There are two more documents from Bhagalpur relating to the grant of *madad-i-maash* land to defray the expenses of *Khanqah* and travellers visiting the *Khanqah* and the students educating therein. The one document is dated as 38th regnal year of Aurangzeb (1695 A.D.) issued by Prince Azam Shah to Sayyid Hamid, son of Abul Maali relating to 300 *bighas* of *madad-i-maash* in *parganah* Bhagalpur. The other is a *sanad*, issued by Yar Muhammad to Mir Sayyid Mir, dated 50th regnal year of Aurangzeb (1707), making a grant of 190 *bighas* of *banjar* land as *madad-i-maash* in *parganah* Bhagalpur.

A *sanad* dated 5 *safar* 4th yer of the reign of Shah Alam II (26 August 1762) informs about the settlements of the village Harpur Bakhri, in *pargana* Morwah (now in Samastipur district), *Sarkar* Tirhut, as rent fre in favour of Bhagwan Das Bairagi for maintaining him and his dependants. Similarly a *Parwana* dated 31 January 1757 bearing the seal of Raja Ram Narayan (deputy governor of Bihar) communicates about the revivalof the previous sanads and release of the village Bishunpur Maniari

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1. S.H. Askari, Documents relating to an Old Family of Sufi Saints of Bihar, *I.H.R.C.* XXVI, p.II, 1949, pp.1-7.
2. S.H. Askari, op. cit., *I.H.R.C.* 1951, p.5.

asli mai dakhili, in Chakla Nai, in *Pargana* Bisara *Sarkar* Hajipur in favour of Gosaeen Mahanth Mannu Ram, *Faqir Nanakshahi* as *sarshikan*. A *sanad* dated 7 regnal year of Ahmad Shah (27 April 1753) bearing the seal of Raja Janki Ram (Deputy governor) records the grant of village Kumhral, in *Pargana* Barail *Sarkar* Tirhut with exemption from payment of revenue and other demands in favour of Rojanand Brahmin, for his livelihood, as *Bishnuprit*[1]. similarly, a *parwana* dated 10 regnal year of Shah Alam II (1768) informs release of the village Hardi, *Pargana* Ladaori in the name of Mansukh Ojha, Brahmin, as Brahmottar[2] and *Bishnuprit*.

During the 18th century rent free grants were made on very extensive scale. A large number of *sanads* and *parwanas* relate to this period. In fact these grants were made on such extensive scale that when the English took over the administration of revenue affairs of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765, according to one estimate "the revenue of ¼ of whole Bihar province had been transferred from the state. It was to combat this problem that the protracted series of 'Land Resumption Regulations' were passed during the end of the 18th and early 19th centuries. The proceedings held under these regulations are an important episode in the economic history of the suba. Most of the *firmans* and sanads came in government possession as a result of these proceedings[3].

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1. Lands granted for the upkeep of the temples of the Hindu Gods, Bishun or Vishnu.
2. Lands granted to the Brahmins for their maintenance and upkeep of the temples. All these documents are preserve in Bihar State Archives, Patna. For details see K.K. Dutta, Some *firmans, sanads & parwanas* (1578-1802) Patna, 1962.
3. K.K. Dutta, *Biography of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh*, Patna, 1957 pp.91-92.

4. The *zamindars*

The *zamindars*, both primary and intermediary formed an important nucleus in the land revenue administration in *subah* Bihar as well as in other parts of the empire, under the Mughals. *Zamindari* implied 'certain rights in the usufruct of the land grouped together, and the holder of these rights were called *zamindars*'. According to Irfan Habib, the rights of *zamindari* did not signify a proprietary rights over land. It co-existed with other rights and claims on the produce of the soil[1]. It was a superior right to that of the peasants and originating in the main, independently of the existing imperial power. It implied a claim to a share in the produce of the soil which was completely distinct from, although it might be laid by side with the land revenue demand. The conventional share of the *zamindar* was called *malikana* and amounted to 1/10th of the revenue in northern Indian provinces. Besides exercising this right to share in the produce of the soil, the *zamindars* also levied a number of other cases and exacted certain customary prerequsites from the peasants under him.

Thus, the surplus of the produce was shared between emperor, noble and *zamindars* and they exercised control over the handicrafts trades and agriculture[2].

Regarding to the *zamindars* in the directly administered territories under the Mughals, the government's view thus seems to have been that a *zamindar* was always an intermediary who merely rendered to the authorities the service of collecting the land revenue from the peasants. Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas states that one

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1. *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.154.
2. See for details, Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Chapter V *'The Zamindars'*, pp.136-89.

of the task of the auditors of village accounts to discover how much the revenue-assessor *amil* and *zamindars* etc. realised from the peasants. The bracketing of *zamindar* with the revenue officials is a significant one. So, Irfan Habib is of the opinion that the *zamindars* primarily were official tax-gatherer, rather than a tax payer. A *farman* issued by emperor Jahangir, concerning the *zamindari* and *chaudhari* of some *tappahs* in *sarkar* Monghyr, *subah* Bihar, while granting a *zamindari* accordingly, speaks of a right as a *Khidmat*, a post of service[1].

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1. Agrarian System of Mughal India, p.173.
It appears from *dastur-ul-amal* of Raja Todarmal and the various *sanads* of the Mughal period that *zamindari* was a service (an appointment) and the *zamindar* received prerequisites for the services. It is a well known saying that the *zamindari* is conditional upon *mal-guzari* while *nankar* is conditional on service. The *zamindar* had proved so usual that the people flocked round *zamindar* from their adolescence to old age and the *zamindar* too shared the sorrows and pleasures of the peasants. Thus the *zamindar* and the peasants intimately related to each other and formed an integral part of the village.
We find that when Akbar occupied subah of Bihar and merged it in his Kingdom (Raja) Dalpat Sahi, the autonomous chief of Bhojpur in Shahabad district of Bihar, agreed to pay to the emperor the sum of Rs.5 lakhs per annum as *mal-guzari* or *nazrana* better called as tribute. Thereafter, Narayanmal and his brother Pratap Rudra strove to populate their *watan* and without depriving the raiyat of their share, raised the *hal-i-hasil* to Rs.14,71,000. But Narayanmal did not allow the administration and imperial *qanungo* to operate in his area. After remaining as tributary chiefs for a number of years, Narayanmal rebelled and later he was killed. The local Ujjainiyas Rajputs pleaded with the administration that in view of the Pratap Rudra's kind and gentle treatment of the raiyat that he should be reorganised as chief. Then Pratap Rudra agreed to pay rupees two lakhs as *peshkash*, over the above the *malguzari*. After a period of 20 years, Pratap Rudra revolted and took hills. Finally in A.H. 1059/A.D. 1649-50 he was defeated. His successor was then appointed in consultation with other Ujjainiya chiefs and the revenue settlement continued as before till the latter

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The *zamindar's* service is collecting and remitting the revenue was actually paid for, through an allowance known as *nankar*. This was either in the form of a deduction from the revenue paid or in the form of land assigned to the *zamindars* as revenue free. The *nankar* amounted to 5% to 10% of the revenue demand[1].

We find that during Mughal India, Akbar was the first emperor who realised the importance of forming a powerful link between the empire and the chietains by absorbing many of them in the imperial hierarchy and the administrative mechinery. For the very reason he instituted a new system known as '*Watan Jagir*'. This policy of reconciliation with local chiefs and *zamindars* was continued by his successors. It is estimated that among 575 mansabdars during the last years of Aurangzeb's reign (1679 - 1707), 81 were *zamindars* as well[2].

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years of Aurangzeb's reign. Cf. S. Nurul Hasan, Historical Discourses on the origin of *zamindari* and an account of *sarkar* Bhojpur, based on a Berlin MS, now in Marburg, West Germany (Pert Sch. 505). *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, pp.323-24. See also, R.N. Prasad, The Role of Ujjainiya Rajputs in the Political History of Bihar (1500-1606 A.D.) *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1968, pp.167-77.

1. *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp.173-78. Though, according to one estimate the *zamindar's* share being 1/3rd of the *jama*, should be 19.73% of *jama* or in other words the *zamindar's* share should have approximated to about 1/5th of the total land revenue realised from the peasantry. Cf. Shireen Moosvi, The *Zamindar's* share in the peasant surplus in the Mughal Empire-Evidence of the *Ain-i-Akbari* statistics".
   The Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol.XV. No.3, July-September, 1978, pp.359-74.
2. M. Athar Ali, Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, p.13, A *farman* issued to (Raja) Rudra Singh of Bhojpur dated 15 *Rabi* I, 25th regnal year of Aurangzeb

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However in *subah* of Bihar there existed two types of *zamindar*, viz; *zamindars* in the directly administered territories and the tributary or autonomous chiefs. The examples of tributary or autonomous chiefs in *subah* Bihar, were those of the Chero Rajahs of Kharagpur and Gidhaur (*sarkar* Monghyr) and the Ujjainiya Rajahs of Bhojpur in Shahabad district[1]. These autonomous chiefs enjoyed a great

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(1682), where his ancestral domain was referred to as Watan, indicating the autonomous character of the chief, he was conferred of 1,000 *Zat* and 800 *Sawar*, a rank which was held by his ancestors. Another *farman* dated 22 *Shaban*, 25th regnal year of Aurangzeb (16 August, 1982) recorded that Rudra Singh Ujjainiya (the anthonomous or tribulary chief or *zamindar*) of Bhojpur was appointed as *faujdar* of Shahabad Urf (alias) Bhojpur. Thus here the *zamindari* combined in himself the charge of *faujdar* also in his homeland (*watan*).
See Vinayak Prasad, *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainiya*, Vol.II, pp.73-96. B.P. Ambasthya, The Ujjainiya Rajahs of Bhojpur in *Akhbarat-i-darbar-mu'alla*, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1968, Bhagalpur session, pp.165-67.

1. This is evident from the study of the history of Kharagpur Raj in Monghyr and of the history of Ujjainiyas Rajputs *Rajahs* of Bhojpur in Shahabad district that there were three autonomous chiefs or *zamindars* existed in the *subah* of Bihar since the time of Akbar and their successors are referred till the last years of Aurangzeb's reign, viz; Raja Gajpati (of Bhojpur) and Raja Puranmal of Gidhaur (south west of Kharagpur in Monghyr district) and Raja Sangram Singh of Kharagpur, his son and successor Raja Roz Afzun and his son Raja Bahroze, all these served for the cause of the Mughals and were recipient of *mansabs* (see *Maasir-ul-Umara* Vol.II, p.610). Even in the present days the areas of Kharagpur Gidhaur, and Bhojpur has a thick Rajput population and their ancestral accounts are completely tied with their respective *rajahas*. This clearly shows that the founders of these estates has brought alongwith themselves their caste and muscle men and with their help they became successful in carving out their respective estates. *Akbarnama*, Vol.III pp.107, 321, 576, 611.
For details see on Munshi Mahadeo Lal Khazanchi, *Tawarikh-i-Chieftains* in the Mughal Empire, Delhi, 1977, pp.167-74, R.B.L. Bose, Notes on Kharagpur', *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1870, pp.305-7.
B.P. Ambasthya, 'Ujjainiyas of Bihar', *J.B.R.S.*, XLVII, 1961, pp.425-26.

deal of freedom in administering their principalities in relation to ordinary *zamindars* in directly administered territory, although both were termed as *zamindars*.

Regarding the ***zamindars*** in directly administered territories who were almost ranked as ordinary ***zamindars*** were of two kinds. Firstly some of them were those whose *zamindari* evolved historically like the ***zamindars*** of Champaran and Hathwa Raj in *Sarkar* Saran. Bettiah Raj is a very old in Champaran district of Bihar, Abul Fazl refers to Udai Karan, an ancestor of Maharaja of Champaran, evolved historically as *zamindars* and who had probably been reduced to the status of ordinary *zamindars* during the reign of Akbar[1]. This presumption gains strength from the fact that whereas the *zamindars* of Kharagpur, Bhojpur etc. had always figures in the Mughal chronicles by their activities right from Akbar, down wards, while the *zamindars* of Hathwa in Saran and those of Bettiah in Champaran did not figure at all in the contemporary manuals. This probably explains that while the *zamindars* of Kharagpur, Gidhaur, and Bhojpur had remained feudatory chiefs under the Mughals, Moreover, since Kharagpur, Gidhaur and Bhojpur lay near the spurs of Vindhya ranges, mountains and the forest helped them to maintain their autonomous character as the areas were rendered very tough to throughly subjugated. The *Zamindar* of Champaran, Udai Karan submitted himself absolutely to emperor Akbar and even guided to Mughal forces led by Muzaffar Khan, in the fight against the Afghans at Hajipur[2].

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1. *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, (Text), pp.137-38.
2. *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, pp.136-38. Here Udai Karan has been named as *zamindar* of Jataran (Champaran).

Hatwa Raj in *Sarkar* Saran is an equally old Raj, having evolved historically from remote past. Kalyanmal an ancestor of Hathwa Raj was once refused to assist the rebels against the imperial army during the reign of Akbar and had been chronicled as *zamindar* of kalyanpur (near Hatwa), which was the head quarter of Hatwa Raj at that time[1]. It appears that Kalyanmal submitted to the Mughal power then. As the head-quarters of the *Rajahs* of Hatwa and Champaran had been included in the directly administered areas of Mughal empire in *subah* Bihar, so it seems that the rajahs of the aforesaid two houses of Hathwa and Bettiah were perhaps subdued subsequently and they later ranked as the ordinary *zamindars*.

Among the ordinary *zamindars* who had been created as *zamindars* in *subah* Bihar under the imperial mandate was one Darbhanga Raj in *Sarkar* Tirhut[2]. A careful study of the house of Darbhanga Raj unflods the process involved in the transition from the post of government official to a *zamindar* and their co-relationship. The earliest document is a *farman* of emperor Akbar, issued to Gopal Thakur, the son of Mahesh Thakur who was the founder of Darbhanga Raj which runs as follows:-

> "Let it be known to the exalted officers and economy effecting functionaries, Mutasddies of *diwani* and *karoris* of *sarkar* Tirhut, present and future that Ajit Thakur, the brother of Gopal Thakur, obedient to officers, obedient to Islam, *qanungo* and chaudhari of the above mentioned *Sarkar* having presented himself in the court submitted to the effect that the *qanungoi* and chaudharai of the said *Sarkar* were assigned to the said Gopal Thakur and the said person during the life time of *diwan* performed good services for the betterment of the *raiyat's* condition. Therefore, the

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1. *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, p.396-97.
   District Gazetteer, Saran, Patna, 1930, p.144.
2. Q. Ahmad, 'Origin of Darbhanga Raj' *Proceedings I.H.R.C.* 1961, pt.II, 89-98.

> *farman* having (the same force of) incontrovertibility as death had the honour of being brought into existence (issued) that the *chaudharai* and *qanungoi* of the entire above mentioned *sarkar* be restored to the said Gopal Thakur. It is expected out his (sense of) profuse honesty and ability that he will put forth his best endeavours in looking after the interests of *diwani* and in protecting the lives of *raiyats* and increasing their prosperity. And if he duly performs the said duty, he should realise from the *raiyats* the *rusum-i-chaudharai* at one tankah per *bigha* and *rusum-i-qanungoi* at one fourth *tankah* per *bigha* as a mean for his subsistence."

It is further ordered that the *muqaddams, raiyats* and cultivators residing in the said *sarkar* should consider the above mentioned person (without associating any body else's name with him) as the official *chaudhari* and *qanungo* and should not go beyond (i.e. act contrary to) his orders and advices which are in accordance with equity and are conducive to the welfare and prosperity (of the *raiyats*) and pay him without interruption the rusums of *chaudharai* and *qanungoi*, as of old. They should not consider any one as sharing these powers with him. They should act as ordered and consider this urgent[1].

The above *farman* makes it abundantly clear that this is a second *farman* from the imperial court reinstating Gopal Thakur to the *chaudharai* and *qanungoi* of *sarkar* Tirhut. The grantee was not a *jagirdar* or a *zamindar* till then but was a mere government functionary and at the same time there is no mention of any grant of land as *nankar*, apart from that he realised in return for serving as *chaudhari* and *qanungo* of *sarkar* Tirhut. This shows he had a share in the collection of revenue as *nankar* for his livelihood.

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1. Q. Ahmad, op. cit. pp.90-91.
   Jatashankar Jha, *History of Darbhanga Raj*, Patna, 1966, pp.6-7.

Another document which throws some additional light on the subject is a Mahzarnamah of Sundar Thakur. It was written some time towards the close of A.H. 1062 (A.D. 1652). It unfolds the following facts:

Mahzarnamah

> "I, the humblest one, chaudhari Sundar Thakur beseech from the venerable Syeds, Shaikhs, *qazis, muftis* and other respectable persons living in the *parganahs* of *Sarkar* Tirhut to testify to the truth of the fact that the *sadar chaudhari* of *sarkar* Tirhut *subah* Bihar, and the *qanungoship* of the *parganas* of *sarkar* Tirhut have been obtained by Mahesh Thakur from the court of Hazrat Jahanpanah (the refuge of the world) i.e. emperor Akbar. He continued to remain so in his life. The son of Mahesh Thakur named Gopal Thakur as also obtained a *farman*, as of old[1]."

The Mahzarnamah thus confirms the tradition that Mahesh Thakur was the founder of the Darbhanga Raj. It also mentions that the *sadar chaudharai* of Tirhut had been conferred on him. a fact which is omitted in the farman of Gopal Thakur which already quoted. It seems that the very necessity of the testimony was realised due to the fact that the original *farman* of Akbar granted to Mahesh Thakur probably had been lost by A.D. 1652 and that recourse to *mahzarnamah* was the usual practice which was followed in the absence of original documents.

Coming to the reign of Aurangzeb, the regime of Mahinath Thakur, son and successor of Sundar Thakur is a significant one in the history of the Darbhanga Raj. It was in his time that the family, due to enormous royal favours, came to possess all the dignity of a big estate, we got an idea of the services rendered by Mahinath

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1. Q. Ahmad, op. cit. pp.92-93.
   J.S. Jha, op.cit. pp.7-9.

Thakur in the conquest of Palamau and in chastising the *zamindars* of Morang, in reward Aurangzeb issued a *farman* granting him the *sadar zamindari* of *sarkar* Tirhut etc. The *farman's* translation runs as follows:

> "Be it known to the mutasaddis of mahals, present and future, *tayuldars*, *zamindars*, officers and *nazims* of *mustaqar-ul-mulk*, Bihar and the paradise like province (*Jannat-ul-balad*) of Bengal that, since the news of the sincerity and good service of Mahinath Thakur, son of Sundar Thakur who is obedient to Islam and subservient to (local) officers, in the conquest of the country of palamau appertaining in *subah* Bihar and in the suppression of the *zamindars* of Morang alongwith the late Nawab Mirza Khan, *faujdar* of Darbhanga, has reached the Exalted (emperor Aurangzeb) presence, therefore, by way of grace and inorder to honour (the grantee) the *sadr zamindari* and settlements of sarkar Farrukhabad alias Monghyr, pertaining to Bihar and the *zamindari* of *pargana, Haveli*, Purnea and Tajpur pertaining to *subah* Bengal and the *chaudharai* and *qanungoi* of *sarkar* Tirhut which (last two) belongs to the grantee according to the *farman* of Hazrat Arsh Ashiyani (Akbar), together with a Khilat and *mahi maratib* are granted in heredity[1]."

The fourth document is a letter of Aurangzeb addressed to Lashkar Khan governor of Bihar, dated December, 1666. It merely confirm the aforesaid grants to Mahinath Thakur. Its translation is as follows :-

> "It had come to our Exalted notice from the reports of the waqainigar of *subah* Bihar that the ill fated *zamindar* of Morang, in his false pride, had been the creator of disturbances. Accordingly the late Mirza Khan, *faujdar* of Darbhanga alongwith the men of Mahinath Thakur, and his brother Narpati Thakur, having displayed, the powers of fated on (Raja of Morang). Since this Hindu Brahman (Mahinath) has displayed such valour, I have by an exalted *farman* granted him the *sadar zamindari* and settlement of *sarkar* Tirhut and *zamindari* of pargana Dharampur, *sarkar* Monghyr, and conferred upon him a Khilat and *mah maratib*. The valiant Khan (Lashkar

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1. Q. Ahmad, op.cit. p.94.

Khan) too, should bestow some consideration upon him which may honour him in the eyes of his neighbours, and send him a letter of approbation so that other subordinates may be spurred to similar good services[1]."

Through this *farman* of Aurangzeb, we are here encountered with a new term *sadr zamindari* which is not mentioned any where and even Moreland and Irfan Habib has not taken notice of it in their pioneer works on agrarian history of Mughal India. Probably the background in which the *farman* was issued the word *sadr* must have been inserted to distinguish Mahinath Thakur from the existing ordinary *zamindars*[2]. The grant of so extensive an area of land (110 *parganas*) along with the fish insignia shows that he was elavated to the position of vassal chief[3]. Even the Raja of Nepal, came to be treated like other *Jagirdars* of Tirhut region since Mahinath

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1. Q. Ahmad, op.cit. pp. 96-97. We find that Mahinath Thakur services to the imperial government were amply rewarded. The endorsement on the *farman* gives the following details of the areas granted to him.
   Subah of Bihar :- *Sarkar* Tirhut including the valley of the mountain (sub-Himalayan tract on the north) *zamindari*, Malkiyat and settlement of 102 *parganas*.
   Settlement of *pargana* Dharampur, *sarkar*, Monghyr, I *pargana subah* of Bengal: *Sarkar* Purnea, Monghyr, I *pargana subah* of Bengal: *Sarkar* Purnea - 5 *parganas Sarkar* Tajpur 2 *parganas* Total 110 *Parganas*.
   Besides he was conferred upon the *Khilats* and *mahimaratib* honours which were usually bestowed upon Rajas, Chiefs and important grantees (*Umara-i-azzam*) of the court.
2. A *farman* of Aurangzeb issued in 1660 confirms the *zamindari* and *rajgi* of *pargana* Nishankhpur of *sarkar* Tirhut to local chief namely Kesri Singh (see, History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut, pp.171, 246) Thus, from the *farman* it is evident that there existed petty *zamindars* as well in the same *sarkar*, hence, Mahinath Thakur's position as *Sadr zamindar* of the whole *Sarkar* Tirhut is beyond doubt. He was of course, superior to all of them.
3. Indian Archieves, Vol.XII, No.1-2, p.47. Among the early records of the East India Company's government the word *Sadar Zamindar* stood for lord paramount. (see progs. of the Patna Council of Revenue, dated 11 May, (1778).

Thakur had been granted the *sadr zamindari* of the mountainous region also. From all *jagirdars* of Tirhut the Rajas of Darbhanga used to get *dasturat*. The rajas of Nepal also likewise made an annual acknowledgement of two elephants in lieu of *dasturat*[1]. However, according to the *farman* Mahinath Thakur's duties, as *sadr zamindar*, were two fold. As the revenue officer he was to supervise the collection of revenue, to deposit the same at regular intervals in the provincial treasury and to strive for the habitation of the *mahals* under him and thereby enhancing their revenue.

During the later Mughals period, Raghava Singh , heir apparent of Darbhanga Raj conferred upon the title of Raja by Nawab Alivardi Khan. He is said to have acquired the lease of *Sarkar* Tirhut at an annual *jama* of one lakh of rupees. He also paid an annual *nazrana* of Rs.50,000 to Raja Dhanidhar, the Nawab's *diwan*[2]. But soon a family feud ensued and it was represented to Alivardi Khan that the Raja of Darbhanga was making enormus profit owing to the very low asessment of the *sarkar* and succeeded in exciting his cupidity, with the result that an attack was made upon the Raja and considerable property seized. According to *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, however, the immediate cause of the attack was the refractory and turbulent conduct of the Raja of Bhanwara (Darbhanga)[3]. According to another version Raja Raghava Singh was ordered back to Tirhut as revenue collector and a grant of *Saddui* (2% commission in total collection) was given to him on the condition that he would keep his country in flourishing scale[4]. He built a number of temples dedicated to Lord

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1. The practice is said to have continued till the time of Maharaja Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga who voluntarily stopped it during 1930's.
2. *History of Darbhanga Raj,* pp.22-28.
3. *Alivardi and His Times*, p.14.
4. S.N. Singh, *History of Tirhut*, p.219.

Shiva, two of which were built near the fort of Bhanwara. He was succeeded by his son Vishnu Singh to the throne in 1739 but he died only after four years of his rule in 1743. Vishnu Singh was succeeded by his brother, Narendra Singh, popularly called "Warrior Prince". According to traditions he had fought some battle against Nawab of Bengal in which he was greatly helped by the Babu of Narhan. The personal bravery of Raja Narendra Singh and the Babu of Narhan exhibited on the ocassion is said to have extorted admiration of the Nawab[1]. Because of his good relationship, Nawab given him a number of privileges *(dasturat)* and a *sanad* was issued to this effect[2].

Some troubles, however, appear to have occured for the Raja of Darbhanga when Raja Ram Narayan took charge of Bihar in 1752. Being a sound financier and astute politician; he arranged for the regular collection of customs and compelled the powerful *zamindars* of Bihar like Chhatradhari Singh, Udwant Singh, Pahalwan Singh, Namdar Khan and other chiefs to pay arrears of revenue. This brought him into collision with Raja Narendra Singh also; an interesting account of which we get in the "Kandarpighat" of Lal Kavi, the contemporary court poet of the Raja of Darbhanga[3]. In 1760 Raja Narendra Singh was suddenly taken ill and died issueless. He was succeeded by Raja Pratap Singh[4] whose reign is however, more important in

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1. K.K. Dutta, op.cit., p.122.
2. W.W. Hunter, Statistical Account of Tirhut, Vol.XII, p.210.
3. The poem is edited and published by G.A. Grierson in the *J.A.S.B.*, Vol.LIV, Pt.I, pp.16-35.
4. Nawab Mir Qasim of Bengal had confirmed to him a number of privileges and issued a *parwana* to this effect which runs as follows :- "Revenue agents of the present as well as in time to come of *Paraganas* of *Sarkar* Tirhut in the Province

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the history of Raj for the reason that it was in his time that the English East India Company was granted by the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam, the *diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and new adjustments followed in the relationship of the Darbhanga Raj with the Company's Government.

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of Bihar are hereby informed that it has been obviously proved that the right of *Rasumat, Sadoi, Ekkani, Sirdehi, Dastur, Moqaddami, Malikana* and *Sair Chowthai* for the proprietory villages as well as *Dastur Taraf Khas* relating to the whole and entire *Zamindari* of the above mentioned *Sarkar* has been assigned to Raja Pratap Singh..... in capacity of being remote heritage and it has been exclusively exempted from revenue Settlement..... dated the 25th *Jamdiul-owal*, the lunar month of the 5th Regnal year (of Emperor Shah Alam).

Endorsed with the Statement.

Sadoi, Ekkani, Sirdehi, Dastur Mukaddami, Malikana and *Sair Chowthai* of the proprietory villages as well as *Dastur Taraf Khas* for the *Zamindari* of the whole and entire *Sarkar* of Tirhut have been confirmed as usual to Raja Pratap Singh, the tribunal of heroism with effect from 1172 F.S.

1. Sadoi
2. Fi Rupia Ekkani
3. Sirdehi
4. Dastur Muqaddami
5. Malikana
6. Sair Chowthai
7. Dastur Taraf Khas.

CHAPTER VI

TRADE AND COMMERCE IN BIHAR

The *subah* of Bihar, during the reign of Aurangzeb and his successors witnessed tremendous growth in trade and commerce, and it played a vital role in the economic life of the country. It was bridge on the highway of brisk inland as well as foreign trade, as it was directly connected with Agra on the west by river and land routes and on the east with Chatgaon and to the ports of Bengal like Hugli, Kasimbazar etc. It had also trade contacts with Orissa, including Puri and Balasore. Thomas Bowrey[1] had commented on the commercial importance of its capital town, Patna:

> "This is a country of very great 'trafficke' and commerce, and is really the great gate that openeth into Bengal and Orissa and consequently into most parts of India, viz; from the Northern Kingdoms or Empires (by land), namely Persia, Cermania (Khirman), Georgia, Tartaria, etc. The commodities of these countries are transported hither by caffila, who also export the commodities brought hither by the English and Dutch and also of this Kingdom."

The records of the first half of the 17th century in particular refer to the Portuguese, the English, the Mongoles (Mughals, i.e. Parsian, central Asiatic foreigners and North Western Frontier merchants), Pathans, Armenian and Indian merchants inclusive of East Bengal traders who were then known as *Praychas*. The Ducth factor Pelsaert (1620-26 A.D.) noticed Armenian merchants at Lahore together with Aleppo

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1. Thomas Bowrey, (1669-79) *A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Ltd. Col. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, London, 1905, pp.221-26.

merchants while the English traveller, Peter Mundy found the Armenians at patna in 1632 A.D[1]. Manucci[2] found one of his Armenian friend Cojah Safar (Khwaja Safar) of Agra at Patna bringing a bill of exchange for Rs.25,000 on a local *Shroff (Sarraf)*. The Armenian merchants and others who travelled in the countries from Tartary to China, and carried on musk trade annually passed through Patna to Hugli. Tavernier met at Patna four such Armenian merchants who were coming from Bhutan to sell icons, made of yellow amber. The Dutch had established their factory at Patna even earlier than the English. The latter imitated them in their method and activities especially with regard to their salt-petre trade. Thomas bowrey also leaves testimony to the fact about the trade of the English and the Dutch in Patna[3].

Needless to say that the seeds of the economic transition of India, especially those in Bihar and Bengal in 18th century, were sown in the 16th and 17th century. It was in the 17th - 18th century, the period under review that economic growth had reached the highest watermark in Bihar, which became a busy and developing centre for supplying in abundance to the Asiatic, African and European traders, of commodities like sugar, cotton, and silk cloth and salt-petre etc. The product of salt-petre rose high as a result of foreign reconnaissance, access and demand. It was

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1. Prancisco Pel Saert (1620-27), *The Remonstrantie* English tr. W.H. Moreland and P.Geyl *Jahangir's India* Cambridge, 1925, p.30.
   Peter Mundy (1628-34) *The Travels in Europe and Asia*, ed. Sir Richard Carnac Temple and L.M. Anstey, Vol.II, Hakluyt Society, London, 1907-36, p.159.
2. Niccolao Manucci (1653-1708), *Storia do Mogor*, tr. William Irvine, London, 1907-8 Vol.II, p.84.
   Streynsham Master, *The Diaries of Streynsham Master* (1675-80) ed. R.C. Temple, London, 1911, Vol.I, pp.55,310, Vol.II, pp.21-24, 88-90.
3. Thomas Bowrey, op.cit, p.184.

badly needed in the west for the production of gun-powder and which had revolutionized the methods of warf-are and ultimately paved the way for the dominance of European powers over the orient. Thus the description of several regions of Bihar in general and of Patna in particular, left behind by the European travellers, and merchants of different nationalities such as Durate Barbosa[1] and Sebastian Manrique[2], an Italian Varthema[3], the Englishmen like Ralph Fitch[4], Edward Terry[5], Hughes and Parker[6], Peter Mundy[7], John Marshall[8], The Dutch Pelsaert[9], the Flemish De Laet[10], the French Bernier[11] and Tavernier[12], the Venetian Manucci[13] and others all confirm the fact that Bihar was emerging a strong and throbbing spoke in the cycle of national and international trade, during the period of our discussion.

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1. Durat Barbosa, *Barbosa Historical Miscellany*, Patna College Archaeological and Historical Society 1953, p.72.
2. Sebastian Manrique (1629-43) *Travels of Manrique*, tr. E. Luard, Vol.II, Series II, Hakluyt Society Publication, London, 1927, pp.139-40.
3. Ludivico Varthema, *The Itinerary of Varthema*, tr. J.W. Jones, ed. R.C. Temple, Hakluyt Society, London, 1938, p.142.
4. Ralph Fitch, (1583-91), *Sir William Foster, Early Travels* in India (1583-1619), Oxford University Press, 1921, pp.23-24.
5. Edward Terry (1616-19) cf. *Foster's Early Travels* in India (1583-1619) p.295.
6. William Foster, *The English Factories*, (1618-21) Oxford 1913, Introduction, pp.XXII-XXIV, pp.191-99.
7. Peter Mundy, *Travels of Peter Mundy in European and Asia*, Vol.II Introduction, pp.143-51.
8. John Marshall (1668-72), *John Marshall in India, Notes and Observations in Bengal*, ed. S.A. Khan, London, 1927, Introduction, pp.23-24.
9. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p.72.
10. De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, tr. J.S. Hoyland, Delhi, 1975, p.13.
11. Francois Bernier (1656-68), *Travels in Mughal Empire*. tr. and ed. by A. Constable, Oxford, 1914, pp.437 and 440.
12. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, ed V. Ball and W. Crooke, 1925, Vol.II, pp.121-22.
13. Manucci, (1653-1708) *Storia do Mogor*, tr. by William Irvine Vol.II, pp.83-84.

Ludovico Varthama saw in Patna the richest merchants, and found cotton and silk stuffs, grain, sugar and ginger in abundance. In his opinion it was the best place to live in. A similar observation on Patna was passed by Barbosa. Even Abdul Latif, a traveller, who travelled in 1608 from Gujrat to Bengal via Patna remarked that 'Patna is a very seet (*latif*) and pleasant place', it is a place fit to live in; hence many traders and comfort-loving-men have chosen it for their residence.' He further asserts that in no other city of India can be seen so many men of Iraq and Khorasan, Who have taken up their residence here[1].

However, its important as a centre of brisk economic activity grew when it become the official headquarter of the province in the time of Akbar and his successors and of which the foundation was laid by Shershah in 1541 with the construction of a fort at Patna[2], here which resurrected it from the welter of its oblivion. In 1541, it was famous as 'Pattana', meaning the mart, a name indicating its commercial importance[3]. After 45 years Ralph Fitch[4] (1583-6) an English traveller who paid a visit to Patna, wrote: "Pattana" (Patna) is very long and great town", that its houses were "simple, made of earth and covered with straw", but that its streets were "very large", and what is significant is that there was "a trade of cotton and cloth of cotton, much sugar, which they carried from hence to Bengal and India (Indian Archipelago), very much opium and other commodities." Ralph Fitch had come to Patna from

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1. Abdul Latif, *Travels in Bihar, 1608 A.D.* tr. J.N. Sarkar *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1919, p.599.
2. Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, Oriental Public Library, Patna Ms. Folio, 162 a and b.
3. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, Patna and its Environs in the 17th Century, *J.B.R.S.* 1948, p.126.
4. Ralph Fitch, op. cit., p.109-110, Foster, *Early Travel in India*, pp.23-24.

Banaras and on the way he saw many "Faire towns", the country "very fruitful," and he came across many great rivers some of them as great as the Ganges, itself which in time of rains becomes so much over flooded that one can not see from one side to another."

The account of Patna by Fitch formed the basis of the writings of Peter Heylin's description of it (Patna) in his "Geographic and Cosmographic, where he wrote thus :

> "Patna is a large town and a long one built with broad streets and the houses are mean, poor, made at the best of earth and hurdles, thatched over head[1]."

So, from the above informations it is quite clear that Patna, the principal town of the *subah*, was the largest commercial town of Eastern Indian which acted as an inland emporium for the onward supply of commodities to the ports of Bengal and Orissa on the other hand perhaps all the trading activities between Bengal (and Orissa) and the rest of India were largely conducted through Patna. It was also the chief mart for the goods from Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and Tibet. Quite a different type of a foreign traveller was Mulla Ahmad al-Bahbahani of Persia (1787) who called Patna the *Jinnatul Hind* (the paradise of India) and acclaimed the educational attainments and sophistication of the town's elite[2].

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1. N.N. Ray, *The Annals of the English Settlement in Bihar*, Calcutta, 1927, p.44.
2. Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *Patna Through the Ages*, New Delhi, 1988, pp.78-79.

1. Rural Trade :

It seems better to first discuss about the rural trade, most of the local exchanges of commodities were performed at the village markets, commonly known as *hats* and *penths* which were often held weekly or biweekly. Such hats were held even during the 14th and 15th centuries[1]. There were separate *hats* for different commodities with well established trading regulations[2]. About 178 *hats* have been reported by the collector of Bhagalpur in 1791 A.D., which existed within the district's boundary[3]. But it should be clear here that these small *hats* perhaps largely fulfilled the requirements of the rural areas only.

Apart from these *hats* or *penths* in the villages, there existed big and permanent markets in the urban areas, as in Monghyr[4]. Bhagalpur[5], Lakhawar[6], and Dariapur[7]. This main market of Bhagalpur was Shuja Ganj, named after Prince Shah Shuja who for a long time was the governor of Bihar[8]. In the town of Darbhanga there existed a market named Urdu Bazar which was another important centre of

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1. Indra Kant Jha, Chaudhevin-Pandrehvin Shatabdi Mein Mithila Ka Vyapar, *J.B.R.S.*, 1968, Vol.54 pt.1-4, pp.385-86.
2. R.K. Chaudhary, *The Mithila in the Age of Vidyapati*, Varanasi, 1976, pp.196-97.
3. K.K. Basu, Account of Trade of Bhagalpur in the 19th Century, *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1943, Vol.29, pt.1-2, p.107.
4. C.E.A.U. Oldham, "An Old Description of the Monghyr Fort" *Bengal Past and Present*, 1924, Vol.27, No.54, pp.159-60.
5. John Marshall in India (1688-72) ed. S.A. Khan, London, 1927, p.121.
6. *English Factories in India*, (1618-21), p.192.
7. *John Marshall in India*, p.77.
8. Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar*, Patna, 1973, p.107.

trade during Akbar's reign[1]. Similarly, big and larger cities like Patna had a number of markets which had commercial contacts with Agra, Hugli, Kasimbazar, Lahore, Surat, Masulipatnam, Balasore, Tipperah, Banaras and Jaunpur etc.

The extent and scope of the commercial activities in the province may be gauged from the fact that the number of coins issued from the Patna mint was larger than that of all the mints of Bengal put together and upto 1655 it was the largest mint of the eastern region[2]. This may be due to the influx of a large amount of silver in Bihar as a result of the brisk trade. For example, in 1682 the amount of treasure despatched to the English Factory at Patna was 7,601 sterling, while the amount in goods was equivalent to 824 only[3].

2. European Companies in Bihar.

The earliest European merchants who entered Bihar for opening the commercial enterprise, were the Portuguese. They were found to be already in possession of the field by the earliest English factors at Patna, who observed (November 30, 1620) "The Portingalls of late years have had a trade here in Puttana". Each and every their frigates come from Malacca and Cochin to their two ports, Hugli and Popli, where they had been licensed by Jahangir to inhabit and thence they came up to Patna, laden with tin, spices, China wares, and returned with ambati

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1. R.K. Chaudhary, *History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut*, (1206-1765 A.D.) Varanasi, 1970, p.148.
2. Aziza Hasan, "Mints of the Mughal Empire" Proc. I.H.C. 1967, p.I, pp.327, 330.
3. Sushil Chaudhary, Trade and Commercial Organization in Bengal, (1650-1720), Calcutta, 1975, p.213.

Calicoes, Khassa (muslim), all sorts of thin cloth (dyed red for the specific purpose of selling them in the south) silk and coarse Jaunpur carpets[1].

The next European trading company set up at Patna were of the Dutch. After the reorganisation in 1602 the Dutch East India Company prosecuted their commercial activities vigorously. They first went to Popli in 1627 and then to Balasore in Orissa and later came to Patna in 1632. It would seem that the Dutch were at first the most formidable opponents of the English in their commercial enterprises. Though the English established their first factory at Patna in 1620-21 but till this time the Dutch had already acquired monopoly in the commercial activities. Patna, Chinsura, Kasimbazar became "the centres of an exceedingly prosperous and profitable trade". But the basic pattern of Dutch trade at Patna was a bit different in some respects from the British. Of course, the Dutch were more interested in salt-petre, opium and borax than cotton and silk goods.

The enthronement of Prince Farrukh Siyar at Patna (1712) and his military preparations against Jahandar Shah affected the fortunes of the Dutch adversely. For raising revenue the Prince made heavy exactions from all merchants, traders and bankers of Patna including the Dutch. In June 1712, he confiscated the property of the deceased Dutch chief at Patna (Jacob Hoorn) and seized the goods of the Dutch Company, valued at Rs.1½ lakh as a forced benevolence repayable after assumption of royalty. In October 1712, the Dutch had to pay Rs.2 lakhs. On becoming Emperor,

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1. *English Factories in India* (1618-21) pp.73-84. Cf. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *Glimpses of Medieval Bihar Economy* (Thirteenth to Mid-Eighteenth Century), Calcutta, 1978, pp.47-48.

Farrukh Siyar confirmed the privileges granted by Jahandar Shah, viz., right to use the mint and the privilege of occupying the house of Nur Allah Khan at Patna free of charge (as residence or a store house) provided it was not fortified or equipped with artillery. By the beginning of the 18th century the Dutch carried on brisk trade in Patna, Daulatganj, Chapra, Singhia and Hajipur in Bihar, besides Chinsura and Kasimbazar, Dacca and Malda in Bengal. But already the Dutch power had begun to decline in Europe in the latter half of the seventeenth century and it came to be reflected in the gradual recession of their position in India in the 18th century. The English outstripped the Dutch in Bengal trade after securing Farrukh Siyar's *farman* of 1717. The Dutch lost their preeminence in the saltpetre market in Bihar soon after 1757[1].

The English East India Company

The English merchants likewise attracted by the fame and prosperity of Patna which was then a "great trading centre of Hindustan" and they accordingly decided to establish a commercial enterprise here. But the very establishment of the first English factory at Patna under Robert Hughes and John Parker in 1620 for purchase of cheap and excellent local piece goods of calicoes and for working the raw silk available from Bengal into suitable skeins, was an important phase of 'England's Quest of Eastern Trade[2]'. It also synchronised with the setting up of factories

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1. N.K. Sinha, *Economic History of Bengal*, Calcutta, Vol.I, 1967-67, pp.53, 56-9. S. Bhattacharya, *East India Company and the Economy of Bengal*, (1704-40) London, 1956, p.79.
2. William Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, London, 1933, pp.314-15. Foster, *English Travels*, pp.23-24.

in other parts of India i.e. Ahmedabad, Cambay, Baroda and Broach etc. and other places in Gujrat and Agra with small factories in 1620 at Lahore and Samana. Almost all these places were either important centres of Production of calicoes or bleaching or distribution. But the facts remained that Patna occupied no very inferior position among these places[1].

During the reign of Shahjahan, Muqarrab Khan, Governor of Bihar warmly welcomed these factors and also secured a house for them at Alamganj in Patna. But his sudden transfer, 24 March 1621, coupled with a devastating fire at 'Alamganj' diminished the prospects of future gains in trade at Patna. To crown it, the new *subehdar*, Prince Parvez, was not favourably inclined towards the English merchants and he wanted to have a fairly large share in the profits they were acquiring through business in Bihar. This damped the ardour of the factors who felt themselves "altogether destitute". The new governor's demand of money from "the merchants, brokers, shopkeepers etc. of the city," so troubled them that "one dared to sell a pice worth of goods[2]." Finally the Patna Factory was closed in September, 1621.

We find that after a decade, the English made another attempt in 1632 to establish a factory at Patna, for their trade in Gujrat had been badly affected by the terrible famine of 1630-31. Peter Mundy ranked Patna as the most important commercial emporium, of the entire region. To quote his exact words:

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1. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, The Cotton Trade of Patna in Early 17th Century, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol.XII, No.4, 1936, p.638.
2. *English Factories in India (1618-21)* pp.256, 259.

> "It is the greatest mart of all this countries, from whence they repaire from Bengala that way to the sea-side and from Indostan and other inland countries round about, plentiful in provisions, abounding with sundri commodities[1]."

Peter Mundy reached Patna in September, 1632, accompanied by an Indian broker, to sell & cartloads of barrels of quicksilver, and parcels of vermilion and to invest the proceeds in purchasing suitable articles of trade. However, this attempt too, failed after a short period.

After the failure of the first English commercial Mission to Patna (1620-21) under Messrs. Hughes and Parker, and of the second mission under Peter Mundy (1632), there is no evidence of immediate opening up of fresh contacts with Patna. But we find that with the restoration of Political order under cromwell following the civil war, an attempt was made to "extend and improve" the English East India Company's trade in Orissa and Bengal by profitable investments in some articles, especially saltpetre and sugar.

By 1650, Patna rose to unprecedented importance as a source of production and supply of sugar and of saltpetre then in great demand in Europe as the principal ingredient for the manufacture of gun-powder[2]. However, in 1651 the English East India Company set upon a factory at Hugli and a trading agency at Patna. Later in 1657 a permanent factory was established here on 24 December 1657, the committees of the new stock framed its administrative policy, deciding to group all their eastern

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1. *Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol.II, p.157.
2. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, The Saltpetre Industry of India in the 17th Century with special reference to Bihar, *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol.23, pp.319-24.

establishments under one president and Council, with headquarters at Surat, with four branches, (the cormandel coast, Bengal, Persia, Bantam and Java) each under an agent and council. The Patna factory was placed under the Bengal Agency, the other factories being Hugli, the Chief Station, Balasore and Kasimbazar. By 1653 the Patna establishment consisted of Richard chamberlian, chief and three other factors, William Vasall, Samuel Bayley, Henry Aldworth. We find that this aforesaid arrangement was subsequently modified and establishment consisted of Messrs. Chamberlian, Aldworth and Pickering. Pickering was advised by the Masuli-Patam, factor, Johnson (March 8, 1659) to despatch a Vessel, laden with rice, butter wax and sugar to relieve Masulipatam, which threatened with a famine[1]. Disputes of the English factors with local officers arose over the question of the latter's seizure of saltpetre. The former had also to face the reprisals of the Imperial General, Nawab Mir Jumla, for certain losses caused to him by the East Coast factors. The superiority of the Dutch company to the English in the amount of water transport business, the former were doing between Patna and Hugli is referred to the letter of Henry Aldworth at Patna to Agent Trevisa on July 12,1666. Aldworth promised to despatch 15,000 mounds of saltpetre to Hugli soon after receiving Mir Jumla's dastak, while the Dutch had 9 pattellas of saltpetre with about 25 or 26,000 maunds lying in Punpun 8 miles south of Patna on the river punpun ready to start with *dastak* in 3 or 4 days. The perusal of Patna Factory records reveal that the trade situation for the English in Patna city had much improved under Job Charnock during the years 1664-80. His vigorous superintendence of the Company's officers contributed to the progress of

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1. *English Factories in India*, (1655-60), pp.142, 189-90,262. This would tend to show that Patna was then approachable by Sea going Vessels along the Ganges.

trade in saltpetre. In 1671 Robert Elwes, who had been second to Job Charnock since 1668, was elected factor[1].

In the beginning of the 18th century the English Factories set up in the cities of Patna, Calcutta, Kasimbazar, Balasore, Malda and Daccan were under the jurisdiction of Fort William, which had been made in 1700 the seat of a separate presidency, independent of Madras. As a result of the execution of Aurangzeb's farman of 1701 interdicting European trade in India, the Patna factory also suffered and closed by 1702. Both the old and the new companies suffered heavily as their servants and effects were seized at Patna and Rajmahal. But later in response to the invitation of Murshid Quli Khan, the *diwan* of Bihar, the English again decided in 1704 to resettle their factory at Patna.

On Aurangzeb's death (1707) the English traders at Patna were asked by Prince Karim al Din to pay one lakh rupees and their factory was guarded. The English prayed for Murshid Quli Khan's intervention and threatened reprisal at Hughli for plundering Patna. The trade of the English at Patna and Rajmahal and other places in Bihar and Bengal was subjected to various obstructions by the local government as we learn from the letter of Pitt, President and Governor of Fort St. George to 'Zeaudy Khan' (Ziyauddin Khan), Lord High Steward of Bahadur Shah I (1708). As a matter of fact the position of the English worsened now. The death of Aurangzeb raised the question of the validity of his *farman*. Again, Murshid Quli was absent from Bengal during 1708-9. The *faujdar* of Hughli stopped their trade. So they tried to secure a *sanad* from the Prince or *diwan*, confirming their old

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1. *English Factories in India*, 1670-77, Vol. II, p.355.

privileges. But there was no agreement regarding the amount of money to be paid for it. In 1709 Sarbulaud Khan became the Deputy Governor of Bengal (the "chief manager" of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, as in English records) and he granted a *parwanah* permitting trade as before (June). The English tried to negotiate with him. But their *wakil* at Patna (Durga Mall), who had some influence with the Khan, was not immediately available. The negotiations did not perhaps prove favourable. The Company's Patna bound boats were stopped at Rajmahal (July) and goods ready at *aurungs* were not cleared until the English accepted his terms for a *sanad*. At last after payment of a heavy sum his *parwana* was procured. But Sarbulaud Khan was removed from Bengal and the diwan Diya Allah Khan stopped the Company's boats and demanded Rs.20,000 for his *sanad*.

Before Murshid Quli was reappointed *Diwan* (1710), Lloyd, the English factor at Patna was asked to secure his *sanad*. The Patna factory was closed in 1715. Before the *firman* of 1717 the English Council in Calcutta sent instructions for their demands including among other things, passage of goods from *aurangs* without examination, grant of places to build and settle factories at several places like Hughli, Kasimbazar, Patna, Dacca, Malda, Rajmahal, Balasore, Radhanagar, etc., free use of mint at Maqsudabad, Dacca, Patna and Rajmahal. When it was reopened in 1718 the local Nawab received the new factors of Patna civilly and exempted the English from payment of the usual annual *peshkash* or tax and granted full freedom of business transactions. During the time of Shujauddin (1727) the English factors at Patna procured a *Hasb ul hukm* under seal of the wazir of Muhammad Shah, confirming

the grants made for Bengal by Farrukh Siyar's *farman*[1].

The *farman* of 1717 was followed by a period of prolonged friction between the Government of Bengal and Bihar and the English over the question of its interpretation. Matters came to a head during the governorship of Shujauddin (1727-39), who rightly held that the *farman* conferred on the English the right of customs-free trade in external commerce (imports and exports) only but did not give them any authority to encroach on inland trade to the detriment of the local merchants. The Patna-bound salt-laden boats of some English merchants were detained and unloaded by the Nawab's officers at Bhagalpur. The English were also forbidden to trade in salt. The Government insisted on penalty and an undertaking from the English not to engage in trade inland in country-made goods. So, as a precautionary measure, the Calcutta Council suspended despatch of Bengal salt with the Patna fleet. (9 October 1727). They learnt (9 April, 1728) that the Nawab "would not give leave for the *Gumashtas* to go to Bhagalpur to dispose of the salt" unless they paid Rs.10,000. A part of the seized salt was disposed of at Bhagalpur for Rs.3,000/- by the Nawab's men. Some influential officers including the *faujdar* of Hughli offered mediation. The Calcutta Council took steps against despatch of Bengal salt towards Patna, and issued instructions for throwing it overboard into the river (12 Aug., 1728). Difficulties lingered at Patna as late as 1730. The English feared (November 1731) that the Nawab would stop their Patna boats, as he had sent several cannon pieces to Mircha (Maricha), the place of transhipment. The local Nawab at Patna also threatened to stop the English trade there by surrounding their factory unless a present was given. In 1732

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1. S. Bhattachary, *The East India Company and the Economy of Bengal from 1704-1740*, pp.12, 26, 33, 39

also strained relations continued at Patna, where the local Nawab complained that the English were including in their private trade in the name of the Company and threatened to stop their business unless they secured a *farman* of the then Emperor. The chief of the Patna factory (Hugh Barker) instructed the *vakil* of the English to represent that it was not private trade and assured the Calcutta Council that the Patna factors would' endeavour to conceal its real nature (January, 1732). When the President and Governor of the Calcutta Council continued negotiations to get from Muhammad Shah a confirmation of the *farman* of 1717, it was the Patna Council which prepared and forwarded (to the Court Vakil) the draft of the proposed order of customs-free trade in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, to be purchased by payment of Rs.20,000/- (February, 1732). But the Calcutta Council failed to stop the spurious business of the English soldiers of the Patna fleet in carrying Bengal salt. They threatened mutiny if it was unloaded during transit. So, in order to maintain good relations with the Nawab, the company's authorities decided to buy the whole amount of salt carried by the feet, and after retaining the permissible free allowance for use, to throw the balance into the river (August, 1732). The Kasimbazar Council suggested payment of Rs.15,000/- to the Nawab to avert a higher loss[1]. During the political convulsions of 1756-57 the Patna factory of the English was closed. It was, however, reestablished in August, 1757. Pearkes and Amyatt were chiefs of the factory during 1757-59[2].

The French

Among the French tradesmen, Mr. Colbert who decided to establish business settlements in India after securing permission from Shaista Khan in 1674

1. S. Bhattacharya, op.cit, pp.41-63.
2. H.N. Sinha, *Fort William India House Correspondence*, Vol.II, pp.62, 473.

had decided to establish a French business centre at Chandernagore, that was purchased, and afterwards houses were constructed by 1690. In January, 1693 the French secured an imperial order granting them the right to trade freely in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on the same terms and conditions as the Dutch, paying 3½% customs duty, which was reduced in 1718 by Farrukh Siyar to 2½%. In pursuance of this *farman*, Ibrahim Khan, the governor of Bengal and Kifayat Khan, the *diwan* granted a *Parwanah* authorising the French Director "to deal in the Kingdom of Bengal, Orissa and Bihar or Patna, cloth, sugar, wax, silk, saltpetre and other goods to send wherever he will[1]". During the first half of the 18th century the French factory at Patna was an important centre of trade alongwith Kasimbazar, Dacca and Balasore. The two principal articles of French trade in Bihar were saltpetre and course calico cloths[2].

Thus, the activities of these European companies had a great share in stimulating the industrial and commercial potentialities of Bihar. This is quite evident from the details of industries and trade of Mughal Bihar, especially saltpetre and textiles. They also participated in the import and inland trade of Bihar.

3. Urbanization : Growth of Villages and Towns

During the Mughal period Bihar had been both agricultural and industrial region of great importance with village as a basic unit of economic production. It was also in this period that process of urbanization, that had begun with the Turko -

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1. N.K. Sinha, *Economic History of Bengal*, Vol.I, pp.35, 40, 44-46.
   J.N. Sarkar, *History of Bengal*, Vol.II, p.392.
2. *Glimpses of Medieval Bihar Economy*, pp.54 - 55.

Afghan rule was increased with the founation of new towns in different part of the province. About villages and towns valuable information may be collected from the findspots of inscriptions, accounts of foreign travellers and merchants and factory records and literature. Some of these places continued from earlier periods, some had decayed, others were decaying but then rivived. New towns also grew up. Besides Biharsharif, Patna and Azimabad which were respectively capitals of Pre-Mughal, Mughal and later Mughal periods, there were several other important towns and villages and the inscriptions found from these shed light on their importance. These towns and villages were not only the centres of religious learning but also of economic activities. During this period mosques and schools were constructed in these places, and production, both agricultural and industrial, grew space. These factors contributed to the rise in population and social development of the towns.

Urban Centres:

The economic importance of Patna had declined after the fall of the Palas and it had become a small town dependent on Biharsharif, the seat of local government of the Delhi Sultans. Evidently it was not an uninhabited site when Sher Shah transferred the headquarters of the local government to Patna in 1541. It was known as "Pattana", meaning the mart, a name indicating its commercial importance. Abdullah, author of *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, states, that it was its geographical and strategic situation which had influenced the decision of Sher Shah to make Patna a capital city and build a fort for defence[1]. Consequently, Biharsharif lost its former importance

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1. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, folio, 7 b.
   Cf. *Glimpses of Medieval Bihar Economy*, pp.56-59.

and Patna, with a new fort and situated on the Ganges soon grew as one of the largest cities of the *subah*. It was greatly attracted by the foreign merchants. We know that in medieval Europe a town with a population of 20,000 was considered to be a big town. As stated by Nizamuddin Ahmad, during the reign of Akbar, there were 120 big cities and 3,200 *qasbas* (townships) each an agglomerate of 100-1000 villages[1]. The largest city in India during the 17th century was Agra. The population of Patna was two lakhs as estimated by Manrique[2]. John Marshall while writing about the casualities in the Patna famine of 1670-71 states that on 11 December 1671, he received a written account from the Kotwal's Chabutra at Patna that 1,03,000 persons perished during the last 12 months, among then 50,000 were Muslims and 53,000 Hindus[3]. This clearly suggest that due to the growing commercial activity, the population was also growing to considerable extent.

Manucci writes that in 1663, Patna was a very large city with bazars, the greater part thatched, inhabited by many merchants[4]. Bernier and Tavernier visited Patna during the governorship of Lashkar Khan in Bihar, 1665-68. They furnished us details about the administrative divisions, its capital, its governor, its revenues, and some manners and customs of the local people. In December, 1665, Tavernier found Patna to be "not less than two kos (4 miles) in length". He considered it the largest town in Bengal and the most famous for its trade, and one of the largest towns of India[5]. Thevenot observes, "Patane is a very large town lying on the west side of

1. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit. Vol.III, p.545-46.
2. *Travels of Manrique*, Vol.II, pp.140, 152.
3. *John Marshall in India*, p.152.
4. *Storia do Mogor*, Vol.II, p.79.
5. *Travels of Bernier*, pp.186, 457.
   Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Vol.I, pp.121-23, 258.

the Ganges in the country of Patna"[1]. The author of *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh* also corroborates the same idea in 1695 that "Patna, the capital of this province is a large town on the bank of the river Ganges[2]."

Within the Patna city, there were various *Mohallas*[3] such as the eastern and western gates of Patna were known as the *purab darwaza* and *pachchim darwaza* respectively. Certain *mohallahs* and villages around Patna, were then important, judging from the findspots of mosques, mausoleum and *dargahs* of saints and inscriptions thereon. Khwaja Kalan, Dhawalpura, Mangola (Modern Tikiatoli), Guzri, Pathar ki Masjid, Balkishan Ganj, Fasahat ka Maidan, nagla, Malsalami, Doolighat, etc. The noblemen had their residence in mohalla Kaiwan Shikoh ('splendid palace') now corrupted into Khawahkoh. *Diwan mohallah*, was so named because it was assigned to the clerks of the government offices. Mughalpura contained the quarters of the Mughals.

Amthua village in Gaya district was also an important place having religious values. Daud Khan Quraishi, the governor of Bihar 1659-64 laid the foundation of a new township and named it after him Daudnagar in the Gaya district. His nephew Shamsher Khan Quraishi also founded a township and named it Shamshernagar in the same district[4]. So it is clear that the Mughal nobles also founded

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1. Monsieur de Thevenot (1666-67), *The Indian Travels*, ed. S.N. Sen, New Delhi, 1949, Vol.III, p.68.
2. J.N. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, p.35.
3. *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, District Patna, Patna*, 1924, pp.23-24, 188.
4. *Regional Records Survey Committee*, Bihar, Annual Report 1958-59, pp.20-21, See also *District Gazetteer, Gaya* pp.28-30.

new towns which developed very soon as commercial centres as well.

Some important information is also available about the environs and hinter land of patna in the accounts of these foreign travellers and merchants who had the chance to visit it. Specially, Tavernier and John Marshall refer to the eastern and northern environs. John Marshall travelled from Balasore to Patna (1669-70), from Patna to Hugli (1670-71) and from Rajmahal to Patna (1671), and has referred to Dumra, Hathdah (as Hatchedo), More (as More) and Mahore), Mokameh (as Mokoia or Muckeya), Pundarak (as Barr and Dar), Athmal Gola (as Asumalike Surray), Rani Sarai (as Raning and Ranni Cassera), Fatwah (as Footooa), and river Punpun[1]. According to their statements these places were prosperous, many having sarais (rest houses) and marts.

As regards the northern environs of Patna (across the Ganges), John Marshall refers to Hajipur, Sonpur (as Soneigh) Jahanabad (as Jonabad), Nanagur and Singhiya (as Singhee[2]).

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1. *John Marshall in India*, pp.77, 92, 95, 125-26 John Marshall was taken into, service in English East India Company during the period of job Charnock the Chief of the factory at Patna (1669-71). According to him Barh was also a great town, having several "stone house", the road passing by it was a very pleasant road. It containeda *sarai* situated to the south of the Patna-Barh road and described by Marshall as Milkees or Almesman's house, very neat and handsome. Evidently it refers to a *sarai* constructed to maintained by a man who was enjoying *sayurghal* or milk or *aimma* land. Futwa (modern Fatuha) was a long town of small houses, it was atleast ½ kos (1.1/8 mile) long and possessed a stone bridge.
2. *John Marshall in India*, pp. 128, 143-44, 158-59.

Hajipur, at the confluence of the Ganges and the Gandak was about 8 miles from Patna (perhaps by boat) and opposite to Shah Shuja's garden. Marshall ranked it among the 'great, ancient and ruined town, and a famous place and the seat of a King', The town also possessed a *sarai*. Grapes were abundant there. The English East India Company had hired a house at the rent of Rs.3½ monthly. Near Hajipur, a small township named Minapore, was famous for its clay pottery[1].

The King's highway connected with Hajipur and Nanagur (Naugarh or Naunagar) about 9 miles south east of it and 20 miles distant from Jahanabad. The East India Comapny had a house of their own which stands pleasantly by the rivers side which comes out of the River Ganges, where Ganges is high but at other time is dry. This Nanagur is a very pleasant place, being situated amongst topes (grove) of trees and the way from there to Hajipur is very pleasant. Nagpur is also esteemed a very healthy place, being situated up on a hard clay ground. Jonabad (Jahanabad) was 11 miles from Hajipur. The English factory situated at this place was drawn up in 1676[2].

Singhiya, near Lalganj, on the left bank of the Gandak also contained a factory for refining saltpetre. It was only 15 miles from Patna by boat and so it was very convenient for the better management of the saltpetre industry. So, the English factors tried to urbanize it though having their own benefit of trade. The English factors wanted to escape from the rapacious demands of the governor's officers by

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1. *John Marshall in India*, p.414.
2. *Diaries of Streysham Master*, Vol.II, pp.88-90.
   John Marshall in India, pp.128, 158-59.

living at Singhiya[1].

It is very interesting that Tavernier describes Chapra as "a large village" where the Dutch had its saltpetre refinery[2]. Besides them the French and the Portuguese also established their factories there. It is very likely that before the opening of these industrial complex there, this was only a like village site but after the establishment of commercial enterprise, it grew into a town of prominence.

Besides, these aforesaid places, the town of Monghyr was also famous for the mausoleum of Shah Nafa, a *Khanqah* of the 16th century including a *dargah*. Some *mohallas* of Monghyr like Dilawarpur, Kawra bazar, Belan Bazar, and Charwayan were having their own identity and economic importance as well. To the south of Monghyr lay Kharagpur, the seat of the converted Hindu Rajas, with great strategic significance because of the local hills. In the Sarkar of Monghyr, a place Gidhaur, under its own Raja was also then an important strategic place. It was through these places that a short cut route to Bengal bay.

Akbarnagar, founded by Raja Man Singh in 1595-96, it was named as Agmahal and Rajmahal and it grew to be the provincial governor's headquarters with religious and aristocratic residential buildings.

Rohtas was a pre-existing town where residential and religious buildings were built during the time of Sher Shah. It was very famous for its historical forts.

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1. *The Diary of William Hedges*, Vol.II, p.241.
   English Factories in India, 1670-77, Vol.II, p.330.
2. *Tavernier, Travels in India*, Vol.I, pp.121-23.

Palamau, the stronghold of the cheros (and later of the Karwars and Oraons), was conquered during the reign ofAurangzeb under the capable generals like Daud Khan Quraishi the then governor of Bihar. The latter constructed there a mosque and tried to inhabitate the area.

Certain places in North Bihar were also important i.e. Darbhanga, famous for milk and curd since the time of Akbar. It was very important administrative unit of the *subah* of Bihar. The family of Darbhanga Raj resided here and during the reign of Aurangzeb, one of them, Mahinath Thakur by dint of his loyalty for the cause of the Mughals, got the *sadar zamindari* of the whole Sarkar of Tirhut[1]. They tried also for the general prosperity of the town.

In the Sarkar of Champaran, a place named Mehsi (near Motihari), a fairly populated area. It was an important centre for the manufacture of hand-made paper in Bihar. The paper manufacturers resided in a separate mohalla, still known as *Kaghzi mohallah*[2].

The factors which contributed to the development of towns in Mughal India were transformation of agricultural communities into Urban, the transition from the *qaria*, and the *qasba* to the *Shahr* (city) and the brisk trade system was the predominant factor. Though, the process of urbanization was very slow during the period under review, but it was perfectly natural, stimulated by a number of concomitant factors[3].

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1. Jata Shankar Jha, *History of Darbhanga Raj*, Patna, 1966, pp.18-21.
2. Q. Ahmad, A Note on Pargana Mehsi, *J.B.R.S.* Pt. III, Vol.IV, 1958, p.194.
3. J.N. Sarkar, *Studies in Economic Life in Mughal India*, Delhi, 1975, p.209.

The very establishment of the Mughal empire secured peace and tranquility in the whole country. The urban propensities of the ruling classes, the Emperor, the nobles and the courtier class and the kith and kin all tried their best to flock to royal camps and to settle under the protection of the fort walls[1]. In the case of Patna as well a large number of people gathered there to seek protection from the royal hands. At the same time the growth of Murshidabad on the site of Maxudabad was due to the administrative reasons of different nature, viz. the conflict of ideas between Prince Azim-ush-Shan, governor of Bengal and Bihar and Murshid Quli Khan, the *diwan*.

The next very convincing factors was the same in India as it was in England that the natural or strategic or geographical situations often greatly influenced the growth of towns. The incomparable situation of Delhi marked her out to be an imperial metropolis throughout the ages. The same happened in the case of Patna as well. The historical survey of the Urban centres illustrates the process of urbanization, de-urbanization and re-urbanization. Patna was famous city as the imperial metropolis of the Mauryas and the Guptas under the name of Pataliputra but declined during the Imperial Palas, revived again by Sher Shah and reached its peak in the reign of Aurangzeb when commercial factories were established there by the European merchants.

4. Industries and Trade

The varied commercial activity of Bihar during the period under review may be classified under the following categories:

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1. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, Citing Hamiduddin's *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri* writes that, "A crow turned its tail to the city and its head to the village, (surely) the crow's tail was better than its head." *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb*, p.75.

1. Agricultural and Horticultural Production.
2. Forest Products.
3. Animal Husbandary.
4. Dairy Products.
5. Textiles manufacture and trade.
6. Mines and minerals with special reference to saltpetre industry.
7. Handicrafts.

1. Agricultural and Horticultural Production

It seems rather difficult to have a definite idea of the extent of cultivation in Bihar bounded between Allahabad and Awadh on the west, and Bengal on the east during the period under review. But it may safely be assumed that this was much less that what is existed today. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has calculated, on the basis of the *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Chahar Ghulshan*, that the total measured land had increased from 24,44,120, bighas in 1594 to 1,31,52,845 bighas in 1720[1].

From the village and area statistics of Aurangzeb's reign Irfan Habib calculated and so he is of the opinion that the total measured area in *bighas* was 1,27,53,156 and of the total of 55,376 villages, only 31,340 had been measured[2]. However it may be said that the soil was more fertile in Bihar under the Mughals than now, as indicated by Abul Fazl's reference to the richness of soil in *sarkar* of Champaran (Bihar), where the pulse mash (*urd*) required no ploughing nor any care at all in order to grow in plenty. He further says that the *banjar* lands of the sub-

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1. J.N. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, p.26.
2. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.4.

montane areas of the Tarai are even more productive than the best category of land (*polaj*) elsewhere and the revenue officials regarded it as equivalent to it[1].

With respect to the means and methods of cultivation and irrigation during this period in Bihar the available information is very scanty. It may be presumed that the implements of the Indian peasant including Bihar were crude, the foot plough, yoked to the oxen. An outstanding feature of agriculture was the harvesting of two or three crops in the year. Naturally, rotation of crops was well known to the peasant. The common fields possessed no hedges or enclousures as was the practice in Europe. Artificial means of irrigation by well and water accumulation supplemented the rains, while natural canals were caused by changes in course of rivers[2].

Agriculture was then, as now the principal source of livelihood in Bihar. Abul Fazl writes about agriculture which was in flourishing position 'in high degree' in Bihar.

Among food grains, rice, wheat, pulses and millets were the chief staples, Abul Fazl especially refers to the production of Patna rice, which was rarely to be equalled for its quality and quantity. This is corroborated by the *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* written by Sujan Rai, a hundred years later, which makes special mention of the shali rice, unparalleled for goodness and excellence. This included Shah pasand and Basmati variety of Patna rice, yet in 1670, due to a severe famine that one seer rice was sold for one rupees, and in a few months even this was not to be had. On the other hand

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I. (Text), pp.417, 297.
   Irfan Habib, op.cit., p.23.
2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, English tr. (Jarrett and Sarkar), p.165.
   Irfan Habib, op.cit., pp.11, 22, 36.

we find, according to Brnier, Bengal rice was carried up the Ganges to Patna[1]. Thus there was much inter-provincial movement in rice.

Wheat was also grown in Bihar. Sir Thomas Roe tells us that Bengal fed the Delhi - Agra region with wheat and rice. So, in this connection W.H. Moreland is of the opinion that this wheat really referred to Bihar wheat[2]. Irfan Habib referring the *Kalimat-i-Taiyabat* writes that *subah* of Bihar was famous for the cheapness of its provisions which were exported to Agra. According to a *Dastur-i-Alamgiri*, the price of wheat in 1659 was Rs.0.50, it is one fourth above that of the *Ain-i-Akbari*. So from the above information it may be said that a substantial rise in the price of wheat took place between the reigns of Akbar and Aurangzeb[3].

John Marshall refers to meagre cultivation of barley in Bihar. An experiment in the cultivation of barley seemed to have been attempted at Patna in 1670 as noticed by John Marshall. A local Hindu brought some barley which had grown 11 inches during ten days and he distributed it in accordance with the local custom in the hope that the harvest would be plentiful[4].

Among pulses Abul Fazl has referred to the cultivation of pea like grain Kisari (*khesari*) resembling mater (peas). consumed by the poor but it was unwholesome[5].

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I (Jarett and Sarkar) p.151.
   Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire*, p.437.
   Thomas Bowrey, op.cit., p.226.
2. W.H. Moreland, *India at the death of Akbar*, pp.119-20.
3. Irfan Habib, op.cit., p.84.
4. *John Marshall in India*, pp.83, 142.
5. J.N. Sarkar, op.cit., pp.37-38.
   Irfan Habib, op.cit., p.38.

Among the spices, the pepper (mirch) was the most important article of India from the commercial point of view. Long pepper grew in the forest of Champaran[1]. It was priced 16 *dams* a *seer*. Ginger and turmeric were also produced in Patna[2]. Ginger was sent in bulk to Hugli. The Dutch purchased it in large amount for export to Europe[3].

As regards fruits, there is ample evidence to show that medieval Bihar used to produce certain fruits which were superior to their modern counterparts but unfortunately which had fallen out of cultivation now. Fruits were produced in great plenty. Hajipur was noted for its abundant growth of Kathal (Jack fruit) and Barhal. The former attained such a size that a man could carry even one piece with difficulty, which was sometimes a yard long and half yard broad. Grapes were also grown in Hajipur[4]. In Tirhut Sarkar delightful groves of orange trees used to extend to a distance of 30 miles. Tut, a sort of mulberry about 3 inches long and as thick at the end as a man's little finger, a very sweet and pleasant fruit was grown in Shah Shuja's garden at Rajmahal. Bhagalpur and its environs has abundance of toddy (tar) trees and gardens of mango trees, set all in rows of squares very handsomely[5]. Peter Mundy also referes to Patna mango. He writes that the road from Naubatpur (about 13 miles south west) to Patna was full of "a million of Mango trees in plots and graves" on both sides.

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1. Irfan Habib, op.cit., p.46.
2. Foster, Early *Travels in India*, p.24.
3. *English Factories in India*, 1646-50, p.338.
4. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Vol.II, p.23.
   Ain-i-Akbari, Vol.II, p.164.
5. Ibid. op.cit., p.164.
   John Marshall in India, pp.128-33, 142.

There was no waste ground all the way, but full of mango trees[1].

Among the new species of fruit trees introduced by the Portuguese the pine-apple (ananas sativa) which became common in different parts of India including Bengal and Bihar. During 17th - 18 century Patna produced ananas resembling pine-apple and melon pleasant to the taste and leaving the flavour of an apricot in the mouth[2].

Horticulture was encouraged by the court circles and the aristocracy. The endeavoured to grow different kinds of fruits in their gardens and ochards.

Cotton, sugar cane and betel leaf were the three chief high class crops (or cash crops) of Bihar. Picking and ginning of cotton by the peasants, its clearing or carding by the *dhunyas* (specialised class of labourers), and its spinning into yarn by the women and in the household of the peasants, all constituted major village industries[3].

The cultivation of sugarcane was perhaps more wide spread than cotton in Mughal Bihar. Bihar produced in abundance and high quality of sugarcane[4]. Ralph Fitch found that the sugar of Patna was supplied to Bengal and other regions of

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1. Peter Mundy, op.cit. Vol.II, p.134.
2. Manucci, op.cit., Vol.III, p.183.
   Bernier, op.cit., p.438.
   Thevenot, op.cit, p.96.
3. *Glimpses of Medieval Bihar Economy*, p.64.
4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. ed. Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1893, p.67.
   Peter Mundy, Vol.II, p.134.
   J.N. Sarkar, op.cit., p.38.

India[1]. In the days of Tavernier, there was a great traffic in moist sugar at Patna, Hugli, Dacca and other places. Especially, Hugli has a good market for Bihar sugar[2]. In fact manufacture of sugar and molesses (*gur*) formed one of the principal agricultural manufactures in Bihar. This continued during the first half of the 18th century and formed a chief occupation of many in rural and urban areas. The sugar of Patna was much disliked in Persia and the Gombroon factors wrote to Madras on 7 May, 1659, that "Sugar proves such a drug that the *Anus* is all unsold, being Pattana sugar, which is disliked here[3]."

Betal Leaf (pan) especially the makhi variety, delicate and beautiful in colour, thin in texture, flowless, without cracks (*be-jerm*), fragrant and pleasant to taste, was one of the noted agricultural products of Bihar[4].

Peter Mundy refers to the indigo cultivation in Bihar, while Tavernier refers to Bengal indigo. It appears that though indigo was cultivated, its production in Bihar during 17th century, was on a very small scale, it was largely exported from Bengal[5].

Bihar was also famous for its opium production. Cultivation of land trade in this narcotic in the 16th and 17th centuries has been described by Ralph Fitch and

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1. Ralph Fitch, *Early Travels*, Oxford, 1927, p.24.
2. Tavernier, op.cit., Vol.II, p.23.
   The Diary of William Hedges, Vol.I, Hakluyt Society, London, 1886, p.164.
3. *English Factories in India*, 1655-60, p.224.
4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p.72, Vol.II, 151.
   J.N. Sarkar, op.cit., p.38.
   Irfan Habib, op.cit., p.47.
5. Peter Mundy, Vol.II, pp.151, 153. Tanvernir, Vol.II, p.8.
   Irfan Habib, op.cit., p.42. N.K. Sinha, *Economic History of Bengal*, Vol.I, p.206.

John Marshall. Fitch noticed its considerable cultivation in Patna during the reign of Akbar[1]. In the 17th century regions around Patna and Monghyr were the main centres which supplied opium, but the opium of Patna was considered comparatively better in quality than Monghyr[2]. The Dutch and English companies were the main consumers of this article of trade. In 1692, the abolition of the Dutch factory at Patna was opposed on the ground of opium supply along with sltpetre[3]. In a collection of papers concerning the affairs of the English company in Bengal during 1661-85, the list of commodities procurable at Patna gives details about the princes of opium and also furnishes different kinds of information on other aspects of this trade[4].

Medicinal drugs were required by the surgeons of Fort St. George in the seventies of the 17th century, especially turmeric and tin-call (Tinkal, naive borax, *sohaga*), and there were supplied from Patna. Turmeric was purchased in bulk by the English company for exports. In 1676 Patna despatched to Huli 1800 maunds of turmeric[5], the maximum that could be expected in that year. In 1682, the court of Directors asked for 200 tones of turmeric from Patna[6]. .

The following articles were requisitioned from Patna and sent to Murshidabad in 18th century. Chaksu, *Surwa-i-Safahani, qaqam* (fine kind of ermine),

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1. Ralph Fitch, op.cit., p.24.
2. *John Marshall in India*, p.416.
3. Nihar Ranjan Ray, *Dutch Activities in the East, Seventeenth Century*, Calcutta, 1945, p.51.
4. C.R. Wilson, *The early Annals of the English in Bengal,* The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Vol.I, pp.378-79.
5. *The Diaries of Streynsham Master,* Vol.I ed. R.C. Temple, London, 1911, p.64.
6. Sushil Chaudhary, *Trade and Commercial Organisation in Bengal* (1650-1720), Calcutta, 1975, p.263.

Bekh-i-Khurasan (root), *Tukhm-i-Balanga, Gul-i-anar, Gul qand* (for which Patna was famous), Rewand, Badyan, Afiyun (opium), *Arq-i-Keora* (scent) and Itrifal Shahtera (a kind of electuary)[1].

2. Forest Products:

Abul Fazal refers to large and extensive forests along with the southern banks of the Gagra river. But, since Akbar's time the process of deforestation had began, leading to the enlargement of the cultivable area in the region[2]. Lignum Aloe (Aguru) was found at Patna in huge quantities. The price of the highest and commonest kind ranged from Rs.20/- a maund (or 8 as a seer) to Rs.40 and 50 per seer. The highest kind of it called samaleh. A sample supplied to Surat in October, 1620 which costs Rs.1.5/8 the seer (of 33 pice weight). Next year in August 1621 a sample of Rs.2-10-0 per ser (of 33 pice weight) was provided, for trial in England, to the total value of nearly Rs.400[3].

Cultivation of lac was one of the important occupation in Mughal Bihar. It was used as a red dye. sealing wax and varnishd. Besides Bengal, it was also produced in Bihar but Peter Mundy considered Bihar be not being very good and cheap[4].

Gumlac in large quantity (200 maunds) was purchased by Hughes and

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1. Jagdish N. Sarkar, *Medieval Bihar Economy*, p.66.
2. W.H. Moreland, *Indian at the Death of Akbar*, p.7. Irfan Habib, op.cit., p.23.
3. *English Factories in India*, (1618-21) pp.200, 206, 258. J.N. Sarkar, *Studies in Economic Life in Mughal India*, pp.238-39.
4. Peter Mundy, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.151, 153.

Parker for export to England, Persia and Red sea[1]. But later on, we do not find any reference to dealings in Gumlac in bulk. Probably, the quality and prices were not favourable[2].

Salt was supplied to Bihar from Orissa[3]. Spikenard, an aromtic oil or balsam yielded by an Indian plant was also available in the environs of Patna[4].

Musk was the main article of trade imported in Bihar from Bhutan[5] and Nepal[6]. Musk from Bhutan usually came in the winter and from Bihar it was supplied to Agra, Surat, and throughout the Mughal Empire[7]. The merchants of Bhutan usually came to Patna to sell their musk. It is worth mention here that it was even exported from Patna to Persia, Venice and other European countries[8]. Tavernier writes that he purchased musk worth Rs.26,000 and remarked that he could have made huge profits of customs had not been imposed on it in India and in Europe[9]. Nepal musk was sold at Patna Rs.49 per seer of 16 pice; weight 40 pice would have made a great seer of about 31 OZ[10]. In return, various goods supplied to Bhutan were butter, oil, hemp and corn[11].

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1. *English Factories in India*, 1618-21, p.270. "*Documents relating to the first English Commercial* Mission to Patna" ed. R.C. Temple, *Indian Antiquary*, 1914, Vol.43. pp.108-110.
2. C.R. Wilson, op.cit., p.379.
3. *English Factories in India*, 1655-60, p.297.
4. Ibid., 1618-21. p.198. *Indian Antiquary*, p.76.
5. Tavernier, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.143, 146.
6. *John Marshall in India*, p.163.
7. C.R. Wilson, op.cit., p.378.
8. Tavernier, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.143, 146, 258-59, C.R. Wilson, op.cit., p.378.
9. Tavernier, Vol.II, op.cit. p.258.
10. *John Marshall in India*, pp.103, 163.
11. C.R. Willson, op.cit., p.379.

Abul Fazal writes that good elephants could be procured in large number in Bihar[1]. John Marshall reported that elephant's tusk weighing 1 maund 5 seers = 90 English lb. was sold in Patna, a tusk was 3 yards long and ½ yard wide priced about Rs.55 or 60 a maund, (80 ibs.)[2].

The muchkand like the flower of dhatura, grew at Maner near Patna which was very fragrant and was found no where else[3].

3. Animal Husbandry

As we know from the accounts of Abul Fazl and Sujan Rai that Bihar produced, a fine species of the goat of Barbary breed, which was also bred here. To increase their fat, they were castrated. Some times they became so bulky that they were unable to move and had to be carried on litters (charpoys). The price of higher quality of such goat was only Rs.1/- per head and of the others 12 annas only[4]. The goat-meat sold at 54 *dams* a maund.

In Patna, there were oxen of small size (gaina) which was used to carry small coaches (27 inches high at the shoulder and 36 inches long). The best sort of such oxen could be purchased at 4 or 5 rupees a pair[5]. In Bihar, horses and camels were very scarce. Parrots abounded. The fighting cocks were famous and other games of bird were in profusion. Ponies used in travel were very small in size. Some of

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.164.
2. *John Marshall in India*, p.413.
3. J.N. Sarkar, op.cit., p.38.
4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, pp.164, 65.
   J.N. Sarkar, op.cit., pp.37-38.
5. *John Marshall in India*, p.377.

them cost £ 45, a very high price for a country pony as recorded by Tavernier[1].

The buffaloes of Tirhut were so savage that they would attack a tiger. The cattle of Purnea formed an important item of live stock and were sent to Bengal as carriage bullocks. But the Purnea bullocks came from further west. "Forty or fifty yoke of white oxen, of the largest size, bred in the country of Purnea" were used in dragging to the battlefield of Plassey (1757) the six feet high Platforms on which were mounted heavy cannon of largest calibres (24 and 32 pounders), ammunition and gunners as well. Patna cows were much in demand in Murshidabad in the eighteenth century.

In the eighteenth century some birds and beasts were sent from Patna to Murshidabad on demand. Among birds were Bahri (a kind of falcon), *Baz, Tiyur-i-Shikari* (hunting birds coming from Nepal). Among beasts were *Cheeta, Siyah-gosh, Yuz, horses, aspan-i-Qandhar* such as *Mushki, Ablaq, Samand scyahzanu* (a leash for holding hunting leopards).

4. Dairy Products

The milk of Bihar has been praised by Abul Fazl for both its quality and cheapness[2]. *Sarkar* of Tirhut was especially noted for its milk and curd. The curd of this place, it is said that does not become stale, according to Sujan Rai for a month and Abul Fazl for a whole year[3]. But the statement made by Sujan Rai appears to be

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1. Tavernier, op. cit., Vol.II, p.263.
2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.164.
3. J.N. Sarkar, op.cit., pp.37-38.
   Ain-i-Akbari, Vol.I, p.67, Vol.II, p.165.

correct. There was a superstition rather a popular belief that if any milkmen (goalas) adulterates his milk, some calamity befalls him speedily. The price of milk was lowest in Bihar[1].

5. Textile Manufactures and Trade

Cotton Industry

Patna was famous for very fine cotton fabrics, both white and coloured, produced mainly for foreign trade as well as home consumption[2]. It possessed a flourishing trade in cotton and silk goods. It was noted for its Ambati Calicoes and raw silk. The council of Surat deputed Robert Hughes from Agra on 5 June 1620, who reached Patna on 3 July 1620 and was joined by John Parker as an assistant[3]. The Directors approved of a sample of calico called ambertee procured from Bihar and forwarded to England by the Agra Chief. They were looked upon with favour by the Directors and it was decided to despatch two merchants to Hagrepore - Pattania (Hajipur Patna) or where else the amberties were made to purchase an assortment aid also to look after whether they could secure Bengal silk on advantageous terms and conditions[4]. This was done as the cloth generally called ambertees or ambertrees (ambati or ambarti) or stout, close, calicoces of narrow width could be procured

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1. Irfan Habib, op.cit, p.84.
2. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, The Cotton Trade of Patna in Early 17th Century, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XII, No.4, 1936, p.638.
3. Peter Mundy, op.cit., Vol.II, Appendix, D.P. 361. Amberty was a kind of white cotton cloth, "Strong, close made and well contitioned and had no fault but narrowness, its width was 40 inches.
4. N.N. Ray, *The Annals of the Early English Settlement in Bihar*, Calcutta, 1927, pp.23-24.

cheaply and in large quantities at Patna[1].

Hughes reported that there two commodities which the English could utilise (a) ambati calicoes and (b) raw silk.

There were different varieties of ambati calicoes

(a) the *rezais* (not quilt, but thick woven cotton wrapper Rs.2/- per piece).

(b) Zeffer conives or *zafar khani* - so called from the product of the *karkhana* of Zafar Khan, Governor of Bihar, some years before.

(c) and the *Jahangiris*, the last variety, the broadest and the finest known at Patna, priced Rs.3/- to 12/- per piece[2].

In 1632 Peter Mundy observed that ambaties which the English company chiefly required from Patna were dearer than usual, as most of the weavers were engaged in the *Karkhana* of the local Abdullah Khan in making fine linen for his *harem* or seraglio[3].

Other varieties of calicoes, both fine and coarse such as Sahan or Sihan (fine sheeting), *Hammam*, towelling or wrapper. Both these varieties were in the hands of Pathan dealers who imported them in small parcels from lower Bengal in boats. They were neither local products of Patna, nor were they in much demand for local consumption but the requirements of the English factors in 1620-21 led to their

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1. Peter Mundy, op.cit., Vol.II, p.361.
2. *English Factories in India*, 1618-21, p.213.
3. Peter Mundy, op.cit., Vol.II, 150-151.

gradual increase in their imports into Patna. Chautaha or Chautare (four folds a course double length, double width cotton cloth) was a variety of thick calicoes. Rahmouts or Rawat was kind of chautah or wide coarse cotton cloth, kamsukha was a rough unfinished product, partly dried unbleached ambati of Lukhawar[1].

Pelsaert writes that Patna produced much muslin (casse) but it was coarse, and sold at four or five rupees per piece[2]. It was exported from Patna. A finer variety of muslin; known *Qaim Khanis* priced rupees 2-3/- per piece was chiefly purchased by Mughals, Praychaes (East Bengal traders in 1620-21) and also Armenians in the 60's of the 17th century for transport to Lahore and thence to Persia. A thin cloth, like calico lawn was also produced in large quantities in the early 17th century in Patna was curtabees or Aghabanees. He has also referred to tuckrees or becutpoores, a variety of silk petticoats for women manufactured at Baikunthpur.

We find that huge quantities of ambertee calicoes of Lakhawar; and *Qaim Khani* were purchased by the Indian merchants for sale in Agra and Lahore[3]. Ambertees and *Qaim Khani* (Cym Conyes) Valued Rupees one lakh per annum was purchased by the Armenians and other merchants who supplied these to Surat destined for Persia in around 1661[4]. *Qaim Khanis* were in great demand in Persia, but the English company shipped these to England for export to south Africa and Turkey[5].

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1. Peter Mundy, op.cit., Vol.II, p.155, Appendix, D, pp.320-21.
2. Palsaert, *Jahngir's India*, pp.7-8.
3. *English Factories in India*, 1618-21, p.193.
4. Ibid, 1618-21, p.192. C.R. Wilson, *The Early Annals of English in Bengal*, Vol.I, Calcutta, 1859, p.379.
5. *Indian Antiquary*, 1914, Vol.43, p.82.

The localities in the vicinity of Patna, within a radius of 50 miles were important centres and markets of cotton manufactures. For instance, Lakhawar, 25-30 miles south west of Patna was a big market of cloth goods from the surrounding villages where they were made. Hughes described that at Lakhawar, the cloth was bought of all prices, infinite quantities from the poor weavers[1]". Pelsaert writes, "Lakhawar produces ambertees, a superior grade of white cloth, 14 *gaz* long and of different widths, worth from 3 to 10 rupees per pieces[2]". The other places were Nundounepore (probably Nandun) about 30 miles south of Patna and Salimpur (modern Islampur). The town of Biharsharif was also a centre of cloth production[3]. Manucci (1653-1708) also corroborates that the cotton industry in his time was quite flourishing. He further observed that fine white cloth was manufactured at Patna and was found in abundance in the province of Bihar[4].

In some areas of Bihr cotton was cultivated, as Peter Mundy in 1632, witnessed cotton fields in the area between Naubatpur and Patna, while the remainder for the use in cloth manufacturing was brought in from other areas in the country[5]. Thus very fine cotton fabrics both white and coloured were manufactured in Bihar for internal use and export as well.

Silk Manufacture and its Trade

The Subah of Bihar, particularly Patna and its environ, was also famous

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1. *English Factories in India*, 1618-21, pp.191-98, 213.
   Peter Mundy, op.cit., Vol.II, p.145.
2. Pelsaert, op.cit., p.7.
3. Peter Mundy, op.cit. Vol.II, p.154.
4. Manucci, op.cit. Vol.II, pp.83, 426.
5. Peter Mundy, op.cit. Vol.II, p.134.

for silk trade. Raw silk was imported to Patna in large quantities from Murshidabad and Saidabad in Bengal, which was considered to be the best variety of unwound silk or serbandy silk (i.e. cocoons[1]) Patna yielded annually 1,000 to 2,000 maunds of raw silk alone[2]. We find that winding of raw silk on a large scale was performed at Patna[3]. A large quantities of silk were supplied to Agra and Gujrat[4].

Silk manufactures of Bihar were of two kinds, viz; (a) those which were imported from out-side and (b) those prôduced locally or in the neighbourhood and exported outside. Among imported silk manufactures from lower Bengal were Satgaon quilts and Tasar silk goods while from Malda in North Bengal, three varieties of silk goods were brought to Patna (a) Ornees or orhnis or women's veils, ornamented with silk and gold, (b) Ballabands or balaband (turban band) and Alachas or Ellachas, a silk striped stuff or silk cloth with a heavy pattern running lengthwise. From Sherpur Murcha in Bogra district came to Patna a thin variety of coloured silk cloth called Taffet or Tiffany. The best variety of silk cloth available in Patna was Curtabees or Aghabanees. Mundy also refers to tuckress or becutpoores, a variety of silk petticoats for women manufactured at Baikunthpur[5].

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1. Thomas Bowrey, op.cit., pp.230-32.
2. Pelsaert, op.cit., p.7.
3. *English Factories in India*, 1618-21, p.198.
4. Pelsaert, op.cit., pp.4, 19.
   English Factories in India, 1622-23, pp.9-10.
5. *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, Vol.I, pp.25-26.
   Peter Mundy, op.cit., pp.155-56.
   Baikunthpur, 10 miles east of Patna, was an important centre of silk manufacture in Bihar.

There are references to various kinds of silken cloth woven for export to other regions[1]. In 1620-21 the English demand at Patna was for 30 maunds per month[2]. Tasser stuffs of Bengal and Alachas (silk cloth) of Baikunthpur were purchased in sufficient quantities by English factors for export to Persia and England[3]. Muslins from Dacca, raw and wrought silk fine sana or sanh and strips interwoven with gold and silver from Kasimbazar, Orammalls (*rumals*, hand-kerchiefs) and cotton yarn from Hugli and Balasore were available in plenty at Patna[4]. Benaras mandils, a truban cloth interwoven with silk and gold thread was quite cheap at Patna[5]. Coarse carpets of Jaunpur and quilts from Satgaon were brought to Patna whence there were supplied to other places by the European and other merchants[6]. During the last decade of the 17th century chintz of Patna was also famous and in great demand for export to Europe due to its cheapness and higher quality in comparison to that of coromandal and Gujrat[7]. There are various instances of individual purchases by merchants, Manucci refers to about one Armenian merchant Khwaja Safar who purchased cloth of Rupees 30,000 and transported the same to Surat[8]. At the same time Aurangzeb

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1. Pelsaert, op.cit., p.19.
2. *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., p.81.
3. Ibid., op.cit., p.73.
   English Factories in India, 1618-21, p.197.
4. Thomas Bowrey, op.cit., pp.230-32.
5. *English Factories in India*, 1618-21, p.206.
6. *English Factories in India*, 1618-21, p.195.
   Indian Antiquary, op. cit., p.75-77.
7. John Irwin, Indian Textile Trade in the 17th Century, *Journal of Indian Textile History*, Vol.III, Ahmadabad, 1950, pp.60-61.
   Suhil Chaudhry, op. cit., pp.193 - 94.
8. Manucci, op. cit., Vol.II, p.84.

made arrangements to establish a shawl industry at Patna besides at Agra and Lahore[1].

6. Mines and Minerals with Special Reference to Saltpetre Industry

Gold: Ralph Fitch informs that gold was available at Patna. He writes in a very interesting manner that the people of Patna found gold by digging. "They dig deep pits in the earth, and wash the earth in great balls, and therein they are able to get the gold, then they prepared the pits round about brick that the earth fall not in[2]". But this statement of Fitch is not corroborated by any other evidence of this sort.

Diamond: Emperor Jahangir first of all gives the idea of diamond mining in Bihar. He states in his memoirs that during the 12th regnal year of his reign Ibrahim Khan Fath Jang the governor of Bihar, despatched nine diamonds to him from the state mine there and from the collections of the local zamindars, one of which weighed 14½ tankas and was priced at rupees one lakh[3]. It was found in region known as Kokradesh, called as 'Kokhra Diamond Field.'

Again Tavernier refers to diamond mining at Sovmelpour in Lohardaga district of Chotanagpur. The river from which diamond was collected, he names as Govel but V. Ball restored it to Koel river near that town. Regarding method of collecting diamonds, Tavernier describes that "after the great rains are over, i.e. usually in the month of December, the diamond seekers awaited the conclusion of the month

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1. Froncois Bernier, op. cit., p.403.
   J.N. Sarkar, *Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign*, Calcutta, 1933, p.282.
2. William Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 1583-1619, Oxford, 1921, pp.23, 77.
3. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol.I, English tr. Rogers and Beveridge, pp.373, 379.
   See also, Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, New Delhi, 1982, Sheet 10 B, Bihar Economic Map.

of January, when the rivers becomes low because at that time, in many part, it is not more than two feet deep, and lot of sand is left uncovered. Towards the commencement of February, from the town of Soumelpour and also from another town which is 20 *kos* (40 miles) higher up the same river, and from some small villages on the plain, about 8,000 persons of both sexes and of all ages capable of working together[1]".

Borax: John Marshall in his 'Account of Pattana' notes, "Tincall (Tinkal, borax) is procured from the Rajayas country (probably North Bihar areas of Tirhut and Darbhanga) from the hills about six days journey, north west from Pattana, Oyle is put for preserving it[2]". In 1676, the English company purchased 400 mounds of borax from Patna[3]. As late as 1792, Nepal exported borax to Tirhut[4]. The prime cost of borax at Patna in 1754 was rupees 37 per maund[5].

Manucci writes in 1663 that during my stay at Patna when Daud Khan was the *subahdar* of Bihar, one day he witnessed at the Ganges river a rock crystal eight palms in length and 30 palms in circumference. As it was a rarity, it was despatched immediately by boat to the Emperor Aurangzeb[6]. John Marshall states that a number of Armenian merchants used to take amber, coral beads, silk, chintz and silver stripped silk to Lhasa[7]. Nepal and Kashmir supplied saffron to Bihar. Its

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1. Tavernier, op. cit., Vol.II, pp.84-86, 89.
2. *John Marshall in India*, p.24.
   Diaries of Streynsham Master, Vol.I, p.78.
3. *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, Vol.I, p.64.
4. H.R. Ghoshal, Tirhut at the end of the 18th beginning of the 19th Century, *J.B.R.S.* December, 1953, Vol.39. Pt.IV, p.376.
5. *Gimpses of Mediaeval Bihar Economy*, pp.69-70.
6. Manucci, op. cit., Vol.II, p.61.
7. *John Marshall in India*, p.169.

price at Patna was rupees 25-30 per seer or often at dearer rates[1].

Saltpetre Industry

Saltpetre is a kind of artificial salt prepared from nitrates, found in a natural state in many parts of the world, chiefly south America, Persia, Spain, Hungary and southern parts of Europe China including India. It has been utilised extensively for different purposes - as an ingredient for gunpowder, in animal dyes, like lac and cochineal, for medicinal and antiseptic purposes like preservation of fish and meat and embelishing food preparations, for manure, especially of wheat and tobacco, and in glass making, bleaching, washing and cooling purposes[2].

"The origin of the trade." in saltpetre as an ingredient for gunpowder, "must", as Moreland remarks, "be sought in the military history of Europe[3]". but before it is ranked as a primary object of trade in the middle of the 17th century was used as a 'kintledge' or ballast in ships by the English and the Dutch. During 16th and 17th centuries it was used as a refrigerating unit, for cooling drinking water or any preparation of explosions and fire works. As recorded by Abul Fazl "saltepetre which in gunpowder produces the explosive heat, used by His Majesty (Akbar) as a means of cooling water and in thus a source of joy for great and small[4]". This statement seems to be corroborated by Peter Mundy in 1632 that water and other drinks were

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1. *John Marshall in India*, p.413.
   Thomas Bowrey, op.cit. pp.299-300.
2. C.G. Watt, *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, London, 1893, Vol.VI, Pt.II, pp.431-47.
3. W.H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, London, 1923, pp.118, 120.
4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I, (Blochmann), p.55.

cooled in the summer with coarse saltpetre[1]. But Bernier remarks that the poor citizens could not afford to enjoy the luxury of using saltpetre for cooling water due to its high cost. He further informs us that the common folk used a wet cloth on jars for cooling water[2].

The Bihar sector of the Indo-Gangetic region, chiefly Patna and Saran, was an important centre for the production of saltpetre. By the second half of the 17th century Patna was regarded as the principal source of supply of saltpetre. The English factors wanted only well refined saltpetre and the same in cheap and good quality was available in plenty in Bihar[3].

Tavernier noted down that when he reached Patna on 21 December 1665 "The Dutch Company established there on account of the trade in saltpetre which is refined at a large village called Chapra (Modern Chapra, headquarter of Saran district of Bihar) and the refined saltpetre supplied to Hugli[4]." After a few years Thomas Bowrey observed "the Dutch had a factory at Patna for procuring saltpetre[5]. Alexander Hamilton (1688-1723) also noticed that at Patna the English and the Dutch possessed factories for saltpetre[6]. The English Company was always asking the Patna factors for enough supply of saltpetre. It was totally depended on Patna for saltpetre supply

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1. Peter Mundy, op. cit., Vol.II, pp.76-77.
2. Bernier, op.cit., pp.356-57.
3. *English Factories in India*, 1642-45, pp.136, 203, 234, 1646-50, pp.78, 1651-54, pp.106, 119.
4. Tavernier, op. cit, Vol.I, p.100, Vol.II, p.10.
5. Thomas Bowrey, op. cit., p.225.
6. Alexander Hamilton, (1688-1723), *A New Account of East Indies*, Sir William Foster edn. London, 1930, Vol.II, p.13.

because it had discountinued its purchases on the west coast in 1668, and at Masulipatnam in 1670[1]. In 1674, the agent at Hugli received orders to keep ready the saltpetre men constantly employed, so as to have a stock always ready for shipment[2]. The Dutch records reveals that out of the total production of 1,27,238 maunds of refined saltpetre in 1688 at Patna, 1200 maunds were despatched to Hugli, 3,000 maunds to Dacca and 7,000 maunds were retained for Patna gunpowder factory, and the balance amounting to 105,238 maunds was reserved for export[3]. A regular supply of saltpetre was sent to Balasore through the Patna English factories which varied from one to three thousands maunds per annum[4]. Streyhsham Master during his journey upto the Ganges on 22 September 1676 witnessed 17 saltpetre carrying boats coming from Singhiya and Patna[5]. The English company exported saltpetre from Bengal in1663-64 was about 943,650 Ibs. which rare to 1,977,300 Ibs. in 1663-69[6]. The demand seems to have reached its peak between 1681-86 when the English exported on an average 1,259,641 Ibs. annually[7]. In 1682, the court of Directors ordered for a supply of 1,500 tons and even more if possible[8].

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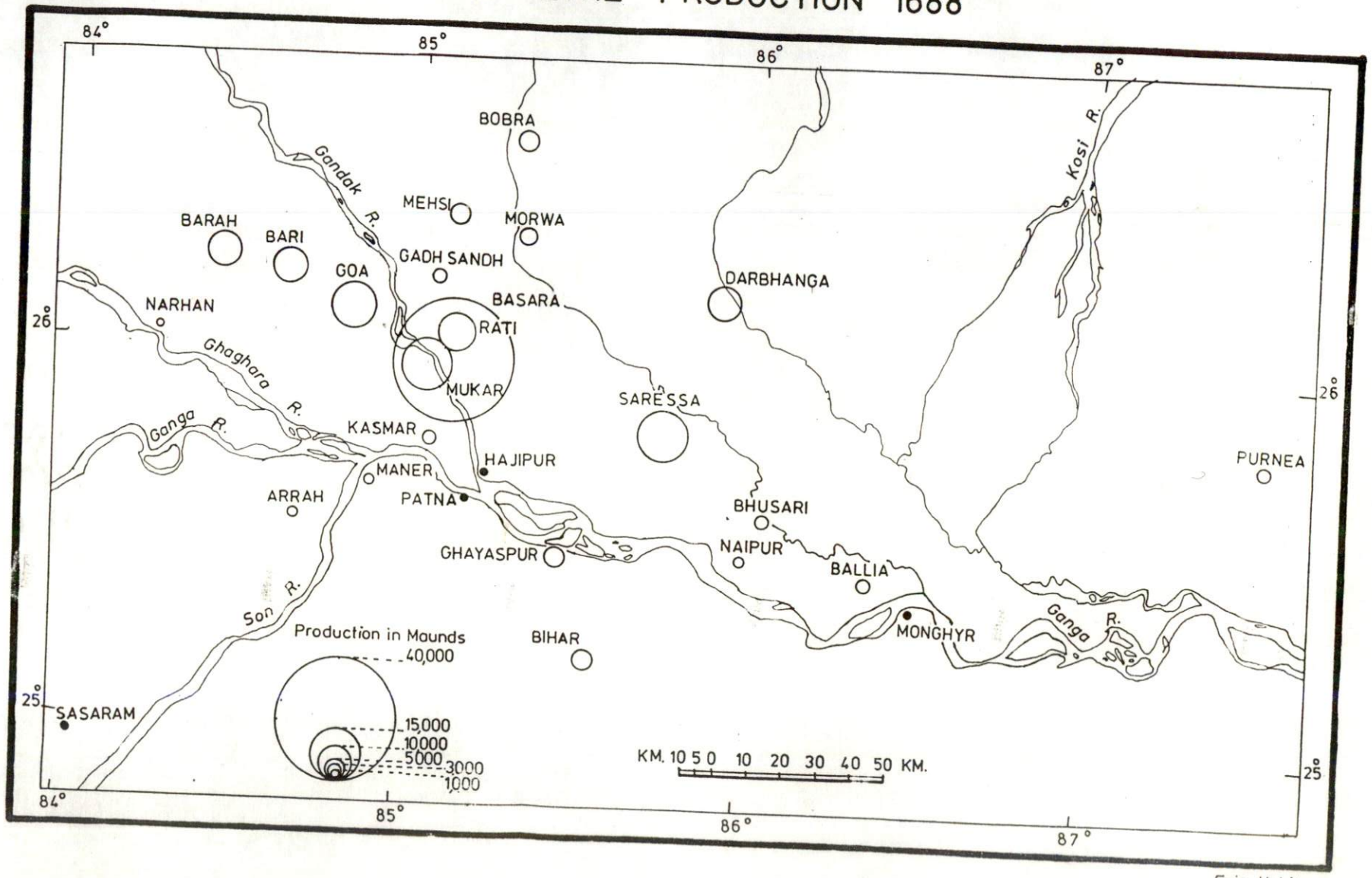
1. C.R. Wilson, *The Early Annals of English in Bengal*, Vol.I, Calcutta, 1895, pp.45-46.
2. Sir William Hedges, *The Diary of Sir William Hedges During His Agency in Bengal*, 1681-87, Vol.III, Hakluyt Society London, 1887-89, pp. 193-95.
3. Sushil Chaudhary, op.cit., p.161.
4. *English Factories in India*, 1655-60, p.297.
5. C.R. Wilson, op. cit., I, p.54. This place Singhee (Singhiya) has been identified with modern Singhiya near Lal Ganj in Hajipur (Vaishali) district, on the left bank of the Gandak river, about 15 miles north of Patna. Here the English established a factory, for procuring saltpetre. See attached map. *Diaries of stregn Sham Master*, Vol.I, p.328, II, pp.89, 272-76.
6. Sushil Chaudhary, op. cit., p.170.
7. Sushil Chaudhary, op. cit., p.170.
8. Ibid., op. cit. p.263.

BIHAR

SALTPETRE PRODUCTION 1688



Faiz Habib

The Dutch exports were more larger. The Dutch as early as 1649 could procure 8,40,000 Ibs. of saltpetre from Patna[1]. In 1669-70, they exported 3,443,440 Ibs. (Dutch). During 1701-1705 it exported on an average of 2,381,918 Ibs. per annum[2]. On the other hand the English company during 1701-1707 exported on an average of 757,097 Ibs. yearly[3].

Nanagur (Nanagarh or Naungar) east of Patna is a place in Bihar was also famous for saltpetre John Marshall writes that "The Hon'ble company have a factory at Nanagur which lies to th east of Pattana (extra-Gangem) about 4 or 5 miles[4]".

Particularly this article of trade was of immense importance for the Europeans because it was used in gunpowder as an indispensable ingredient. During the tense period of civil war in England (1688-89) the English company pleaded for maintaining its privileges for the frequent supply of saltpetre. The factories were utilised for procuring saltpetre till date in the 18th century.

A map showing the centres of saltpetre production in Bihar is attached herewith.

7. Handicrafts

Paper: Rajgir (then in Sarkar of Bihar, now near Biharsharif) was a centre of manufacture of good paper. Abul Fazl and Sujan Rai Bhandari both have referred

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1. Tapan Ray Chaudhary, *Jan Company in Coromondal*, Hague, 1962, p.170.
2. Sushil Chaudhary, op. cit., pp.170-71, 5. Ibid. op. cit. p.170.
3. *John Marshall in India*, pp.158-59. See also Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughals Empire* Sheet 10 B, Bihar Economic Map.
4. S.A. Khan, *The East India Trade in the 17th Century*, Delhi, 1923, p.13.

to this place of paper industry[1]. Other paper manufacturing centres were Biharsharif itself with its Kaghazi mohallah, Mehsi in Sarkar Champaran and Arwal in Gaya. 'Arwali Kaghaz' was used for writing manuscripts[2].

Stone Works: In the vicinity of Rajgir, a small town as noticed by Abul Fazl, a quarry of stone resembling marble, of which ornaments were made. There was similar industry at Gaya where precious stones were brought down from foreign ports and a constant traffic was carried on[3].

Wood Work: Abul Fazl observed that boats were procurable in plenty in Bihar and that the *suhab* furnished 100 boats[4]. There were various kinds of boats manufactured at Patna which were either utilised for transport, commercial or purposes of war. Country-crafts, known variously as Patellas, Boras, purgoes, palwars were used for carrying saltpetre from Patna down to *Hugli*[5]. Daud Khan Qureshi governor of Bihar (1659-64), purchased during Mir Jumla's war with Shah Shuja, several boats (*kishti* or *ghurab*) from the local majhis (boatmen) and equipped them with artillery and gunners and crossed the Ganges with a bridge of boats[6].

Pottery: The Venetian traveller, Manucci described the city of Patna as a centre of manufacture of bottles and fine earthen pottery, including cups of clay.

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p.164.
   J.N. Sarkar, *Indian of Aurangzeb*, p.35.
2. *Glimpses of Mediaeval Bihar Economy*, p.78.
3. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.164.
   J.N. Sarkar, op.cit., p.35.
4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, pp.164-65.
   Irfan Habib, op. cit. p.164.
5. Manrique, op. cit., p.135.
6. J.N. Sarkar, *Life of Mir Jumla*, Calcutta, 1951, p.181.

finer than glass, lighter than paper and highly scented. The earthen wares manufactures in general emitted 'a pleasant odour and were 'so fine' that they were not 'thicker than paper'. Such articles were not only used by the nobles, but also sent to the royal courts as a 'rarity' and, as curiousities, were carried on all over the world[1].

In *sarkar* of Hajipur, a place named Minapore was an important pottery centre. John Marshall states that a piece of 'fine earthenware' weighing only 1.1/8 Oz. (Troy) could hold 18 OZ (Troy) of water. He further informs that 'finer and lighter' earthen goods were manufactured at Begumsurray (Begamsarai)[2].

Tavernier referred the Tipperah merchants who purchased in Patna coral, yellow amber, tortoise-shell and sea-shell bracelets and other toys. So there was good trade relations between Patna and Tipperah[3].

John Marshall refers sale of bows and arrows at the markets of Bhagalpur. Hooka (*huqqah*) "heat hubble bubbles" also made there. He found catchagola (katgola) near Gurguttee (Ghoraghat) a market for 'lattees' (lathis). Four big lathis could be purchased for a pice. He further writes that these were not "of so good cast" as the lathis of Patna, for the former could "never be red though never so much rubbed with oyle' (oil)[4].

Manufacture of guns: Excellent guns, manufactured in Bihar (chiefly Monghyr) about the middle of the 18th century, could compete with European made

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1. Manucci, op. cit., Vol.II, pp.84, 426.
2. *John Marshall in India*, p.414.
3. Tavernier, op. cit., Vol.II, p.273.
4. *John Marshall in India*, pp.121-22.

ones. A Monghyr-manufactured gun was used by Alivardi. Mir Qasim also collected at Monghyr as many guns and flint-muskets as possible for his war with the English. We have the evidence of Haji Mustafa, translator of the *Siyar-al-Mutaakherin* "the European reader may possibly hear with surprise that these firelocks manufactured at Monghyr proved better than the best Tower-proofs, sent to India for the Company's use; and such was the opinion which the English officers gave then, when they made the comparision by order of the Council in Calcutta. Their flints were all of Rajmahal agates, and their metal more yellow..."[1]. This presupposes that the industry must have had a long history before the time of Alivardi and Mir Qasim.

Scientific and miscellaneous articles: The correspondence of Ram Narain and Md. Yar Qalandari refer to some scientific goods requisitioned from Patna and sent to Murshidabad: *durbin* (telescope), *usturlab* (astrolobe, brought from Lahore and also made at Patna), *ainak* (eye glasses) and *taghar* (cauldron), besides *banduq* (or guns from Monghyr).

The above details make it abundantly clear that Bihar was not only an important centre of production but also a thriving emporium of inland or interprovincial trade.

5. Trade Routes and Means of Transport.

Roads and rivers constituted the only means of transportation during the period under review.

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1. *Siyar-al-Mutaakherin*, Vol.III p.421 notes.
K.K. Datta, *Alivardi & His Times*, p.184.

Ox-driven carts formed the normal means of transport for commercial goods. Coolies were also important in this regard[1]. The land-route mostly used by the merchants between Patna - Agra was through Sasram - Banaras - Allahabad - Ajitmal - Firozabad[2]. We find that almost all the important commercial towns, i.e., Agrah, Surat and Lahore adequately connected by land - routes. John Marshall notes that the route from Delhi to Patna was also via Agra[3]. But later we find that the Patna - Delhi route was as follows:

Patna - Arrah - Buxer - Banaras - Rai Bareily - Moradabad - Hapur - Delhi[4]. For the eastern region, the important route to Balasore was via Monghyr - Rajmahal - Kasimbazar and Hugli[5]. Mostly oxen were used between Balasore and Patna for transportation purposes[6].

Tavernier writes that there was three months journey for a carvan to reach from Patna to Bhutan[7]. Patna was connected with Nepal through the following routes. Patna - Hajipur - Mehsi - Motihari - Hataura - Kathmandu (Nepal), while Nepal was linked through hilly routes with Tibet, Bhutan and Lhasa etc.[9] Normally the merchants

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1. *English Factories in India*, 1618-21, pp.283-84, 191.
2. Tavernier, op.cit., Vol.I, p.113-21.
   B.K. Sarkar, *Inland Transport and Communication in Mediaeval India*, Calcutta, 1925, p.35.
3. *John Marshall in India*, pp.159-60.
4. *John Marshall in India*, pp.159-60.
5. J.N. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, pp.XCVI, VIII-CIX.
6. *John Marshall in India*, p.161.
7. *English Factories in India*, 1655-60, p.295.
8. Tavernier, op.cit., Vol.I p.262.
9. *John Marshall in India*, pp.161, 166.

from Kashmir to Bhutan also crossed via Patna[1]. For the transportation of commercial goods from Patna - Bhutan and Patna - Nepal, on the hilly routes, mainly planquines, coolies and country-horses (Ponies), which were small, strong and nible were used[2].

So far as rivers are concerned, for Patna as well as Kasimbazar and Murshidabad, the Ganges and the Bhagirathi constituted the principal route. The most important river route was Patna to Hugli. Mostly boats laden at Patna, Futwa crosed Monghyr-Bhagalpur-Colgon-Mircha, where articles of trade from larger boats were transferred to smaller boats due to shallow water. We find that from Hugli onwards, goods were despatched to different destinations.

There are references of various boats in the contomporary chronicles i.e. 'alacko' (ulak), 'Budgeroo' (bajra), 'Purgoo' 'Boora' (bhars), etc[3]. As referred by Bowrey and John Marshall, there were 'Patellas' possessing a capacity to carry on four to six thousand Bengal maunds[4].

Sarais (inns): Keeping in view the exigencies of trade and tourism purposes a number of sarais were constructed in Bihar during the 17th century. Peter Mundy

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1. Ibid. p.169.
2. Tavernier, op. cit., Vol.I p.263.
3. *Thomas Bowrey*, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.227-29.
   John Marshall in India, p.79.
   See also A.J. Qaisar, Shipbuilding in the Mughal Empire during the 17th Century.
   The Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol.5, 1968, pp.156-58.
4. *Thomas Bowrey*, op.cit., p.225.
   John Marshall in India, p.83.
   See also J.N. Sarkar, *Studies in Economic Life in Mughal India*, Delhi, 1975, pp.87-88.

has referred to Saif Khan's sarai at Patna and he ranked it as the best sarai in India which was the halt of the international merchants[1]. John Marshall also noticed four sarais between Patna to Mokamah and during his journey from Rajmahal to Patna at Burjangal he found a sarai of consisting of 200 rooms and all were four seated. He further informs that eight hundred persons could shelter in that sarai on a payment of one pice (rupees of 28 pice) only for a room of four berths per night[2].

There were evidence of bridges which were constructed to felicitate the transportation services through the Bihar province easily. There was on stone-made bridge on Patna - Rajmahal route at Kalianpur. It was a boon for the merchants and travellers. John Marshall refers a new bridge under construction at Garhi sarai[3].

The *sarais* of the 17th century continued to the first half of the 18th century. Murshid Quli Khan built a katra (or halting station for wondering merchants) at Murshidabad. All these arrangements coupled with the measures adopted by rulers like Murshid Quli Khan ensured safe and easy transport of goods from one place to another.

6. Mughal Administration and Trade

The significance of *Subah* of Bihar as a centre of commercial enterprise in Eastern India can not be denied. Patna, the capital of Bihar was an important meeting place of merchants of different nationalities. As recorded by the contemporary chroniclers and travellers, a merchant required permission rather sanction to trade

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1. Peter Mundy, op. cit., Vol.II, p.159, 163, 165, 172.
2. *John Marshall in India*, p.117.
3. Ibid., pp.123, 120. For a detailed list of *Sarais* (inns) in Bihar see Appendix 'G'

within the Mughal territory. According to the formulated policy of Mughals to encourage and extend the commercial enterprises, they often issued various *farmans*, *nishans* and *Parwanas* during the period under review to private traders and European trading organisations[1]. But at the same time, the implementation of the government's policy was a bit difficult task because right from the princes to the leading nobles including high officials were indulged themselves in making profits and gains in various forms for their own pockets. Perhaps the root cause behind this administrative slackness rather interference in terms of trade was the government's lenient policy towards its officials. There was no check and balances sort of thing. There was no any ban on private trade by the governments employees in legal terms. It resulted that the man of the power tried their best to even monopolise certain branches of commercial activity, particularly which begets huge and immediate gains. It was just 'abuse of power' by highups to a mass wealth and prosperity through non-economic coercion. There are evidences at our disposal to cite here. Prince Shuja during his governorship of Bengal in 1640s tried to monopolise the trade in his assigned area[2]. Lutfullah Beg, the *diwan* of subah Bihar in 1664, attempted to monopolise the trade by preventing the saltpetremen not to supply to the Dutch[3]. When Mir Jumla has

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1. See *'Farmans, Nishans*, and *Parwanas*, (Rotograph copy, centre of Advanced study in History, A.M.U. Aligarh). The first English commercial mission to Patna in 1620 was warmly welcomed by the *subahdar* of Bihar, Muqarrab Khan who himself took keen interest to shelter them in Patna. In good humour, the governor enquired about the luxury items for him and got the same from English factories. This shows there existed cordial relation with them and the state. *The English Factories in India*, Vol.I, 1618-21, pp.191, 199, 201, 246.
2. Tapan Roy Choudhari, *John Company in Coromondel*, 1605-60 The Hague, 1962, p.77.
3. *English Factories in India*, 1661-64, pp.69-71.

been appointed as governor of Bengal in 1659, the commercial activities in Bengal and Bihar suffered from various sorts of interferences. Of course, Mir Jumla was himself busied in trading activities[1]. Once he stopped all English boats at Rajmahal which were laden with saltpetre from patna by the river Ganges[2]. At last the English factors forced to make an agreement with him in 1660 to continue the saltpetre trade within the territory of Bihar and Bengal[3].

In the capacity of governor of Bengal, Shaista Khan (1664-80) caused numerous hindrances and interferences to the English company's trade in Bengal. After the perusal of the factory records it seems that he was keen interested in commercial activities. We find that in 1664 he despatched his agents to Patna with orders to desist the English and Dutch from advancing any money to saltpetremen on the pretext that the commodity was required for King's war[4]. As recorded by Streynsham Master that in 1677, the total amassed wealth of Shaista Khan was around rupees 30 crores and his daily income was calculated to be rupes 2 lakhs[5]. His son, Buzurg Ummed Kha, the governor of Bihar was also involved in overseas trade[6]. He was interested to monopolise the opium trade[7]. Prince Azim-ush-Shan when he was the governor of Bengal and Bihar tried his best to engage himself in trading activities

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1. Ibid, 1660-65, pp.275, 280-81, 293.
2. J.N. Sarkar, *Studies in Economic Life in Mughal India*, p.117.
3. J.N. Sarkar, *Life of Mir Jumla*, p.216.
4. *English Factories in India*, 1661-64, p.395.
5. *The Diaries of Streynsham Master*, Vol.I, p.493.
6. Sushil Chaudhary, *Trade and Commercial Organisation in Bengal*, (1650-1720), p.92.
7. Om Prakash, 'The European Trading Companies and the Merchants of Bengal, *IESHR*, Vol.I, No.3, Jan-March, 1964, p.56.

and achieved a huge profit. These attempts on the part of the princes, governors and other high officials seriously inconvenienced merchants and adversely affected commercial activities in Bihar as well. The European trading companies was often found to approach the emperor to get orders for their smooth functioning of trade, and ultimately they received royal orders (*farmans*) to this effect[1].

There are large number of original documents (1633-1867) in the form of *Farmans*, *Parwanas*, *Sanads* and *dastak* etc. which were issued under the seal of Mughal emperors like Shahjahan, Aurangzeb, Bahadur Shah I, Prince Shuja, Nawab Alivardi Khan and Sirajud Daula of Bengal which assure the British trading companies that they would not be disturbed in their trading activities for reason of non-payment of duties[2]. A *Parwana* dated 9 *Rajab* 3 *Julus* of Alamgir II 1170 A.H. (30 March 1757) issued under the seal of Nawab Sirajud Daula to Raja Ram Narayan, deputy governor of Bihar, informs him that the transportation of the goods of the English East India Company, by land and water, has been permitted through the *Subas* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as per the imperial orders on the basis of company's *dastak*, and the same is valid till date. Thus, the permit (*dastak*) of the company, being effective,

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1. There are numerous such documents in shape of *Farmans Nishans* and *Parwanas*, (Rotograph, Centre of Advanced Study in History, A.M.U. Aligarh) The English Company was granted privileges of trade in Bihar and Bengal in 1638 by Shahjahan followed by the grant of Prince Shuja (C.R. Wilson, *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol.I, London, 1895, p.48. Aurangzeb also issued a farman on request to the Dutch in 1662 in the same nature *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, Vol.II, pp.26-27.
2. These documents are preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi. For details see, *Descriptive list of Miscellaneous Persian Documents* (1633-1867 A.D.) Ed. Dr. R.K. Perti, N.A.I. New Delhi, 1992.

he is not to demand the taxes, like *Kathbhara* and *mangan* on account of the transportation of its merchandise. Also directs him not to realise even a single *dam* and do nothing to harass te *gumashta* (agents) of the company. Further askes him to instruct his staff and the *zamindars* of *Suba* Bihar to act in accordance with the above instructions[1].

7. Custom-Houses (Chaukis) in Bihar

In Mughal India inland transit duties constituted an important source of revenue. Moreland has discussed at length the effects of these charges on the economic life of the country[2].

Here an attempt has been made to locate and study the working of the customs houses (*Chaukis*) both on land and river routes in Bihar, particularly as described by John Marshall.

In *subah* of Bihar we find custom houses on almost all important river and on land routes, customs on all articles of trade which brought into the *subah*, or supplied out were paid at the boundaries, once inside the province, there were also smaller posts or *chaukis* where duty was levied on internal transit of goods passing through the *chaukis*. Mir-Bahr was the superintendent of customs at the river custom-ports, no merchant was allowed to carry on his trade without the former's approval[3].

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1. N.A.I. Document No. Persian Miscellaneous 15/1-3.
2. W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp.46-50.
3. *John Marshall in India*, p.97.
   Diaries of Streynsham Master, Vol.II, p.292.
   See also, J.N. Sarkar, *Studies in Economic Life in Mughal India*, p.126.

During the journey from Patna to Agra, there were a number of toll-stations. The main custom-house was adjacent to Banaras as one crossed the Ganges to enter into the *subah* of Bihar[1]. Toll tax was also collected at Sasaram on crossing the river Sone[2].

There was a large custom-house at Burjangal, situated close by the Ganges for collecting custom for all goods coming from Bengal and Orissa. According to Marshall no trader could dare to pass it by land unexamined[3]. As described by John Marshall that the officials of the *chaukis* put seals (*chaups*) on a cloth according to the number of individuals[4]. There were six toll-posts at Rajmahal and it took Manrique nine days to get customs clearance[5]. Manrique passed through 18 toll posts, making payments at each, though the amount paid was trifling, at some places as little as two *Paisas*, between the journey from Patna to Monghyr[6].

Between Monghyr and Burjangal there were a large number of chaukis as recorded by John Marshall. Dellegola, about two mile east of Garhi (Teliagarhi), had

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1. Tavernier, op. cit., Vol.I, p.119.
2. Tavernier, op. cit., p.120.
3. *John Marshall in India*, pp.72, 118. He describes that "On 11 April, 1670 there was a great Chowkee" (*chauki*) and a great gate through which none can pass by land unexamined."
4. *John Marshall in India*, pp.118-119. When Marshall gave his dastak to the governor, "he put upon the seals one of the peon's handkerchief, 24 chaups, which were for myself, 6 peons, 8 kahars, 4 coolies, 1 gun carrier, 1 cook, 1 palanquin and two for doolies."
5. *Travels of Manrique*, op. cit., Vol.II, p.135.
6. The *chauki* at Monghyr was having enough staff to avoid the tax-evaders. When Manrique avoid to pay his group was caught and punished, ibid., pp.136-38.

a custom house[1]. At this place there was a custom post. Marshall writes that "At this place expected to be asked for my Chopt Clout, but none demanded it[2]."

John Marshall says about more custom offices such as at Pirpainti. was a centre of collection of river customs, where an officer called *mir-bahr* (custom or Harbour master) was stationed[3]. Opposite caushdee, about 16 miles west of Pirpainti, was a *chauki*[4]. At Agalpore there situated a toll station[5]. There was a place named Baha chauki (Bohay Surrey) perhaps a toll station 24 miles west of Monghyr[6]. There was another custom-house near by Mor, near Mokameh[7].

Generally, the merchants trading between Patna and Bhutan, custom chauki was established at Gorakhpur[8]. The main customs charges from the merchants coming from Nepal were realised at Patna.

As far as custom fees were concerned, it fixed generally in terms of percentage. During the reign of Akbar it was fixed at the rate of 2½% at ports[9]. Emperor Jahangir continued the same and he was not in favour of addition in the custom charges[10]. It appears that during the reign of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, custom charges were raised up. Shah Shuja as governor of Bengal issued a *Parwana* in 1645-47

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1. *John Marshall in India*, p.72.
2. Ibid. pp.119-20.
3. Ibid. pp.97.
4. Ibid. pp.73.
5. Ibid. pp.74.
6. Ibid. pp. 124.
7. Ibid. pp.77.
8. Tavernier, op. cit., Vol.II, pp.259-60.
9. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I, ed.Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, p.145.
10. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Aligarh, 1963-64, p.417.

in favour of the Dutch company, he allowed them to trade in Bengal after paying the duty at the rate of 4% only on all imports and exports[1]. But it never exceeded to 5%[2]. It seems that English Company after 1650 paid stipulated from fixed per annum at the rate of Rs.3,000 for their whole eastern trade irrespective of the volume of goods exported or imported[3].

Besides the custom charges fixed by the Central government, the *subahdars* and *Jagirdars* also levied additional or new taxes on merchandize passing through their territories, but of course, these were never allowed by the imperial government[4].

Irfan Habib says that the chieftain also imposed levies on the goods passing through their territories[5].

Apart from all the above, there is reference that government officers also demanded heavy sums as bribe from the merchants for the clearance of their goods[6].

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1. A.K.M. Farooqui, *Roads and Communications in Mughal India* Delhi, 1977, p.171.
2. Thomas Bowrey, op. cit. pp. 23-34. Bowrey witnessed the charges of customs in the Kingdoms of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was 5%. In 1679, Saltpetre of English Company was detained at Patna, on the request of the factors Emperor Aurangzeb ordered to pay custom at the rate of 5% of the total value of goods. *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, Vol.II, pp.273-74. See also A.K.M. Farooqui, op. cit. p.171.
3. *English Factories in India*, 1661-64, pp. 393-94. See also S.B. Bhattacharya, *The East India Company and the Economy of Bengal from 1704 to 1740*, London, 1956, pp.26-27.
4. Peter Mundy, op. cit., Vol.II, p.161. He informs that Abdullah Khan, the governor of Bihar imposed new customs both inwards and outwards in 1632.
5. Irfan Habib, op. cit. p.185.
6. Peter Mundy, op. cit. Vol.II, p.145. Peter Mundy states that he was forced to pay heavy birbe to Abdullah Khan governor of Bihar. See also, *English Factories in India*, 1651-54, p.252.

Saltpretre trade was the main articles of trade during the period under review so, through this trade the government officers illegally exacted huge money from the English and Dutch factors. There are a large number of *farmans* etc. for preventing them to take bribe or illegal cases keeping in view the smooth functioning of commercial activities, without any hindrances[1]. In 1679, a fleet of 31 boats carrying 29,890 maunds of saltpetre of the English factory was detained at Patna for exacting bribe. Later it was released when they paid Rs.700/- to *diwan* and Rs.200 to the *mir bahr*[2]. Prince Azim-ush-Shan, governor of Bihar forced the English and Dutch factors in 1704 to offer valuable gifts and presents to him unless they will be not allowed to continue trade[3].

Having in view, the various *farmans* and orders issued by the Mughal emperors, it seem probable that they desired to promote the trade and commerce in every nook and corner of territory of Hindustan. But there was a lack of communications particularly, the officers were not obeying in full stream and indulged themselves in illegal activities. And as a whole, the state could not stop these practices, which may be argued as one of the root cause of the corruption in public life from below in Mughal India.

8. Mint - Towns of Bihar

Patna was the regular mint town in Bihar by virtue of being the capital of

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1. *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, Vol.II, pp.24, 26, 27 Aurangzeb issued a *farman* regarding the Dutch trade in 1662 (ibid).
2. *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, Vol.I p.114, Vol.II, pp.274-75, 292, 298-99.
3. C.R. Wilson, op. cit. Vol.I, pp.232-33.
   N.N. Ray, op. cit., p.118.

the subah since the time of Akbar[1]. Other places in *subah* of Bihar where the coins had been struck during the reign of Akbar were not regular mints, probably the coins struck at such places were either camp-coins struck in the course of military operations by the imperial forces there, or they were commemorative coins to commemorate the imperial victory[2]. During the reign of Akbar Patna mint has its credit to issue of gold, silver and copper coins[3].

The honorific epithet of Patna on coins in A.H. 984 (A.D. 1577) and A.H. 987 (A.D. 1580) in the reign of Akbar was *Dar-ul-Zarb* and the name of Bihar was associated with *Arsa-e-Dilkushai*[4]. Subsequently in the time of Aurangzeb a silver coin issued by Patna mint in the 10th regnal year (i.e.1667) reads its honorific epithet in Persian as follows:

"Dar-e-Jahan Sikkah Chu badr Munir Shah Aurangzeb Alamgir"

The translation of this couplet runs as follows:

"This coin was struck on earth like moon most glorious
by Aurangzeb who was over earth Victorious."

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I, English tr. Blochmann, p.427.
2. C.J. Brown, *Catalogue of the Mughal coins in the provincial Museum*, Lucknow, Vol.I, Oxford, 1920, pp.49, 85, 90, various such coins issued at Patna, Shergarh, Rohtas, Govindapur, Biharsharif, Monghyr and Hajipur. Cf. H. Nelson Wright, *Coins of the Mughal Emperors of India*, Delhi, 1975, Introduction pXIVII.
3. Stanley Lanepoole, *Catalogue of Indian coins in the British Museum, The Mughal Emperors*, London, 1892, pp.20-29, 39, 40, 42.
   Cf. R. Burn, Mints of the Mughal Emperors,
   Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1904 No.2, pp.79, 86-89.
4. Coins into Catalogue of *Patna Museum*, an unpublished Register, No.I pp.4, 46-48,55.

Its weight is 175.0 grains with a size of 0.8 inches. The name of mint has been mentioned as *Zarb-i-Patna*[1]. The coins bearing queen Nurjahan's name are scarce, but we have some issued from the Akbar Nagar and Patna mints[2].

In later times, during the reign of Farrukh Siyar, its honorific epithet turned out to be *Mustaqir-rul-Mulk*[3]. (Resting place of the kingdom). In accordance with the re-naming of Patna as Azimabad in 1704 the mint too came to be styled Azimabad. Coins bearing this new mint name are available in Patna Museum. On a coin of Ahmad Shah we find the first time a distinctive mint-mark used on the reverse side which serves to distinguish later Mughal coins of Azimabad[4].

During the long period of Mughal rule in India the special honour of having her name minted on the coins was not conferred on any queen except Nurjahan. This lends a special numismatic importance to all such coins. In addition to this, they also have a general historical value as indicating the unprecedented rise in her political influence and power.

During the reign of Aurangzeb, Patna mint has issued largest number of silver coins in its region including the mints situated in the *subah* of Bengal i.e. Akbar nagar. As viewed by Aziza Hasan that the town of Patna had its great commercial

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1. Chas J. Rodgers, *Coins of the Mughal Emperors of India Delhi*, 1972, p.184.
2. G.H. Hodivala, 'Historical notes on the Honorific Epithets of Mughals Mint', *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, Vol.XVII, 1921, p.35, Vol.19, pp.59-68.
3. H. Nelson Wright, op. cit., Introduction, p.IXXII.
4. H. Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol.III, Oxford, 1908, No.2095 p.XVIII, See also p.359 No.68.

importance, being situated at a great the Ganges river port where the Bengal and upper Indian boats had their termini. Owing to these available facilities, the effects of silver influx was of course there and it was directly brought at Patna from the Bay of Bengal[1].

As far as copper coins is concerned, copper *dams* of Patna mint are known but are rare. It was struck at Govindapur in the time of Akbar[2]. H.N. Wright affirms that Govindapur was a mint town in the reign of Akbar but it produced only copper coins. This place can be identified with a Govindapur in Chotanagpur division of Bihar[3]. But we find that the copper *dams* were commonly issued in capital cities of the Mughal Empire since 1663-64 A.D. But they were lighter in weight than minted previously[4]. John Marshall found it under circulation in the various towns of Bihar during his journey in 1671[5]. There was a separate mohallah named Tuxal in Patna city, to the south of Khwaja Kalan fruit market, which has been identified as the site of Akbar's mint, or it is better to call it Mughal mint of Patna[6]. There was a mint superintendent at Patna[7].

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1. Aziza Hasan, Mints of the Mughal Empire, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1967, pt. I, p.331-33. Cf. Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Bihar, Economic Sheet 10 B. and detailed notes.
2. R. Burn, The Mint of the Mughal Emperor's, *Journal of Asiatic society of Bengal*, pt.I, p.96.
3. H.N. Wright, *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian* Museum Calcutta, pt. I p.XLVII.
4. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.382.
5. *John Marshall in India*, pp.416-17.
6. Monoranjan Ghosh, *Patliputra*, Calcutta, 1919, p.40.
7. *English Factories in India*, 1670-77, Vol.II, pp.436-37.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE OF THE PEOPLE OF BIHAR

The province of Bihar was overwhelmed by the intermittent waves of immigration of the Aryans, the Greeks, the Persians, Arabs, the Turks, the Afghans and the Mughals. These racial groups appearing at intervals and advancing into the province left something to be assimilated by the people already in Bihar. Thus there grew up, in course of time, a curious medley of races. A brief account of the people is given below :-

1. The Social Classes

The Hindu society was consisted of a four-fold caste based on professions and traditions, under the denomination of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras[1]. These castes were further subdivided into sub-castes which transformed them into rigid and water-tight compartments.

The Brahmans resided mainly in the *sarkar* of Tirhut known as Mithila. The Pandits of Mithila were famous for their scholarship and knowledge. In the society the Brahmans enjoyed a pre-eminent position in Bihar as elsewhere in the country[2]. The Rajputs, the next most important caste, addressed as Chhatris or Kshatriyas, claimed their descent from the ancient martial race. They seem to have first established themselves in Shahabad and Saran areas under the Raja of Bhojpur

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.166, pp.126-28, 328.
2. R.K. Chaudhary, *Mithila in the Age of Vidyapati*, Varanasi, 1976, pp.23-27.

after exterminating the Siviras, the conquerors of the Cheros. Subsequently they were expelled by the Bhars, Cheros, Kharwars and others, but we find them again having been restored to the former position and status under the Mughals with whom they had allied in the reign of Akbar[1]. They were divided into various tribes, viz. Bagsaria and Bhojpuria, local names derived from the towns of Bagsar (modern Buxar) and Bhojpur in Shahabad district. The Ujjainiya Rajputs of Bhojpur, however, resisted the military might of the great and later Mughals throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This was rendered possible because of the hardy and turbulent character of the people. Even in later times during the great Rebellion of 1857, Kuar Singh of Jagdishpur, a renowned chief of the Ujjainiya Rajputs played a glorious role and died fighting against the British imperialists.

Besides the above tribes, there were various other sub-castes viz., the Babhans, called also Bhumihars, the Baidyas, the physician caste, called also Ambastha, According to the census report of 1872, they were numerous in Patna district. During the Mughal times, no orthodox Hindu would receive medicine except from a Baidya. John Marshall in his journal edited by Sir S.A. Khan has devoted one whole chapter to medical science which these Hindu physicians had acquired and practised. He has referred to Nilkantha, a doctor of Hugli, Baijnath and Sheogobind the Hindu doctors of Patna. He also prescribed the remedies for many ailments such as dropsy, gout, stone, French pox or syphilis which were prescribed by the Hindu doctors at Patna on November 7, 1671 A.D[2]. Among the Hindus, the Kayasthas had

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1. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal* District of Patna and Saran, London, 1877, Vol.XI, pp.404 - 5.
2. *John Marshall in India*, pp.323-49.

a practical monopoly of government offices under the Mughals. They supplied the Persian knowing clerks and because of their keen intellect they became the record keepers of the government offices throughout the *subah* of Bihar. Besides these above mentioned major castes there were as many as 30 sub-castes which were named according to their respective professions. During the 16th century in the area of Mithila there lived a number of lower castes, such as Chamara, Sonara, Lohara, Jolaha, Tanti, Kanseri and other who together formed a part of the village economic life. The Tambouli as a class dealt in betels[1].

The trading classes were of two types: the *banjaras* or the grain carriers who moved from place to place with their bullock carts and track horses and then there were *baniyas* had their own banking system and carried on regular trade[2].

The Muslim population in Bihar grew out of a long process of immigration from out side and conversion of local people. These two elements consequently constituted the Muslim society which developed mainly in urban areas, and to some extent influenced the manners, habits and thinking of the people living in the cities. The Muslims who migrated from outside the province and settle on this wide, fertile plain were also immensely influenced by the local environments, character of the people and institutions. Those who came in the wake of conquests stayed on, serving as soldiers, *qiladars* and military officers in the new government, others attracted by

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1. R.K. Chaudhary, *Mithila in the Age of Vidyapati*, Varanasi 1976, p.200.
2. R.K. Chaudhary, op.cit. p.196.
   Diaries of William Hedges, Vol.II, p.106.
   Manucci, *Storia-do-Mogore*, Vol.II, p.84.
   Cf. S.H. Askari, 'Bihar in the time of Aurangzeb', *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1946, p.11 f.n.43.

prospects of material benefits moved into the land and assumed different professions such as trade and business, teaching, crafts and penmanship. The rich and powerful officers invited poets, musicians and learned men to their houses and extended patronage to them. This building up of a Muslim groups in the urban centres of Bihar took a long time, and by the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the 18th centuries the Muslims, though still in minority, stood in a position to exert political and cultural influence over the society. During these centuries they had established their colonies, built up new towns, trading centres, and opened contacts with the outside world.

The Muslim population of Bihar was divided into four broad classes racially, viz, the Sayyids, the Mughals, the Afghans, the Shaikhs called *Shaikhzadas* which also includes the local inhabitants of Bihar[1]. The society was again divided into castes according to professions as certain professions gradually became monopolised by the Muslims. Hence arose professional class viz. *Kabari* (fish seller), *Rangrez* (cloth dyers), butchers (*Qasab*) and the like. Even the *Hajam* (barber) among the Muslim came to assume the status of a class[2]. It is to be noted that prior to the Mughal conquest the Muslim society that was in existence in the province, was never homogeneous as class distinctions among the Muslims began to grow. The primary distinction was between civil and military class who vied with one another for power and prominence. It was only after the permanent settlement of the Mughal conquerors, distribution of *jagirs* among the Muslim generals and *mansabdars* and immigration of religious teachers and preachers that class divisions began to emerge as professional classes.

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.166.
2. W.W. Hunter, op.cit., pp.52-55.

The Mughals by nature were fond of living in towns. However, with their long stay in the land they had freely mixed up with the people. They adopted the ways of learning the livelihood of their neighbours and thus they were found in every part of Bihar, though small in numbers. Few Mughal villages were existed, because they never founded colonies. Traces of their domination were perhaps strongest in *sarkar* of Hajipur and Bihar (modern Patna and its adjoining area). Many of the nobles, poet and saints of Delhi and other places came to live here[1].

The Sayyids were revered as descendants of the Prophet, but a great many of them had no real claim to this high lineage. For instance, a number of agricultural tribes who had acquired a reputation for sanctity, claimed themselves of Sayyid origin, and in the course of time such claims came to be established. They were scattered throughout the province, but were most numerous in Biharsharif and Azimabad (Patna).

During the mediaeval period the *zamindars* and the higher government officials constituted the uppermost strata of society in Bihar. There were three powerful zamindar *families* which continued to hold their sway in the period Akbar to Aurangzeb — Raja Gajpati of Bhojpur, Raja Puran Mal of Gidhaur (in *sarkar* Monghyr) and Raja Sangram Singh of Kharagpur. Their descendants continued to rule even during the later Mughal period. The family of Darbhanga Raj (*Sarkar* Tirhut) may be cited among the noted *zamindars* of Bihar. One of the member of this family, Mahinath Thakur, was able to secure the *sadar zamindari* of whole *sarkar* of Tirhut including

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1. District Gazetteer, Patna, pp.20-24.

two *parganas* of *sarkar* Monghyr[1].

Among nobles (officers) they penetrated into rural areas in the administrative and revenue departments. The higher grade officers received country side jagirs, and thus came into contact with the local people. The Muslim scholars also received *jagirs*, *inams* and *madad-i-maash* to maintain themselves and their educational and cultural institutions[2].

The Mughal nobility in Bihar was not hereditary. It was official and military in character. Administrators, *zamindars*, learned stipendiaries and merchants as well formed the upper class which more or less depended on government's patronage.

2. Modes of Life : Dress and Diet, Habitation, Social customs and ceremonies

Under the great and later Mughals *suba* of Bihar undoubtedly touched new peaks of cultural progress. During this period a fresh wave of Muslim immigration swelled the ranks of the Muslim population. The foreigners, Mughals, Persians came in the train of the *subahdars* and *diwans* etc. and brought with them their etiquette and their customs and traditions. All these offered greater influence on the common folk.

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1. *District Gazetteer*, Monghyr, pp.35
   W.W. Hunter, op.cit., *Tirhut and Champaran*,
   Vol.XIII, pp.41-43.
2. A *sanad* dated 27 August, 1723 of the reign of emperor Muhammad Shah records the grant of 65 *bighas* of rent free land in the village Peer Kokam, in *Pargna* Dharampur in favour of Syed Mohd. *Waris*, as *madad-i-maash* and for meeting the expenses connected with the travellers and dargah of Hazrat - Qidwatul Arifeen, a Sufi saint. For details see, K.K. Datta, op. cit. pp.84-85.

The *subahdars* and high officers used to live in spacious buildings and houses. Their life-style was on the whole luxurious and ostentatious. On the contrary both Abul Fazl and Sujan Rai informed us that most of the houses are covered with tiles, which are called khaprel in the language of Bihar[1]. Since agriculture was the main occupation of the people, majority of them were primarily cultivators. The husbandmen paid their rent in person and on such occasions presented themselves in the best attire[2].

The general life of the Hindus their social organisation, with division of labour and occupations, and its cultural patterns did not relaxed much with the changing circumstances. The rules and restrictions of the Varnasramadharma, instead of being relaxed, were perhaps tightened in Mughal Bihar. Besides the four castes, a plethora of sub-castes, intermediate and mixed castes came into existence on accounts of the Varnasankara (mixture of castes). Each was exclusive of all the others and observed strict rules as to what food may be eaten, whom it may be eaten, with whom to marry and so on.

The Brahmans, specially of Mithila, made a distinction between '*sidh*' (complete) and '*asidh*' food i.e. *bhat* (boiled rice) and *dal* (cooked pulse) as distinct from '*puri*' (a kind of cake fried in butter or ghee) and '*cheora*' (rice parched in a certain way and eaten dry). *Sidh* food could be eaten only with close relations. There was no mixing while eating and the inferior castes were excluded. Food observed by the Sudras and the Malechhas had to be discarded. Meals could not be taken facing

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.164.
   J.N. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, p.152.
2. Ibid.

south and without special clothes being worn. *'Pattar'* (leaves), preferably of the plaintain tree were used, rather than plates on festive occasions[1].

As far as the dress of common masses is concerned, the workmen, artisans, tillers of soil and other labourers contented themselves with a cotton *langota* tied round the waist and reaching down to their knees[2]. Babar writes in his memoirs "the Hindustanis tie on a thing, called *langota*, a decent cloth which hangs two spans below the navel[3]." Abul Fazl remarks, that men and women of Bengal and perhaps Bihar as well for most part go naked, wearing only cloth about the loins. Muslims called it a *lungi*. Tavernier also confirms the view[4]. In Mithila region *Dhoti* was the most common dress for male while *sari* was common for women. Every Maithils supposed to carry with him a *dhoti*, waterpot, almanac and a religious book with him[5].

Ladies bedecked every limb of their bodies from head to foot with different types of ornaments. Abul Fazl enumerates 37 in his list in the *Ain-i-Akbari*[6]. Ornaments have usually made of gold or silver but those who could not afford them contented themselves with less costly metals or substances[7]. As described by Abul Fazl, ornaments were also made of a special kind of stone found near Rajgir in Bihar[8].

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1. R.R. Diwakar (ed.) *Bihar Through the Ages*, Calcutta, 1959, pp.527-28.
2. Tavernier, op. cit., Vol.II, p.216. Abul Fazl describes *langota* as a waist-cloth which covers only two parts of the body. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.III, p.274.
3. *Babar nama*, (Beveridge), p.519.
4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.102.
   Badshahnama, Vol.I, pt. II, p.273, Tavernier, Vol.II, p.125.
5. *Mithila in the Age of Vidyapati*, p.167
6. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.III, p.343
7. Bernier, op.cit. p.224
8. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.152. This stone resembles marble.

Betal leaf called *pan* was in most common use throughout India among all classes or people. The *pan* consisted of the betal leaf and areca nut (*supari*) cut into small pieces, limewater and *katha*. The rich added camphor and musk to it and tied both of its leaves with a silk thread. There were several species of betel of which the choicest were Makhi leaves of Bihar and keora of Orissa[1]. Betal was necessarily chewed after meals, but most of the people went on taking it throughout the day[2].

It is worth notice that Ralph Fitch (1583-91), an English traveller who paid a visit to Patna describes the social life and beliefs of common folk. He witnessed at Patna, a false prophet who sat upon a horse in the market place and whose feet were touched by the people while he was sleeping. They also kissed in veneration his hands. He remarks that 'people at Patna' are very much given to superstitions; that the country is full of thieves, that the women bedeck themselves with silver and copper and they do not put on shoes by reason of the rings of silver and copper which they were on their toes. About the dwellings he informs that the houses are simple, made of earth, and covered with straw, the streets are very large. He further writes that the men of this country (Bihar) are tall and slender and have many old folks among them[3].

Tavernier describes the eclipse of the sun (*Surya garhan*) of 2 July 1666 at Patna that it was a prodigious thing to see the multitude of people, men, women and children running to the Ganges to wash themselves. He further writes that it was

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1. Ibid., p.157.
2. Manucci, op.cit., Vol.I, p.63.
3. Ralph Fitch, Early *Travels in India*, (1583-91) ed. William Foster, London, 1927, pp.23-24.

wonderful sight to watch them. At this bathing festival of Hindus, Tavernier found that the people started bathing three days before they see the eclipse, during which period they remain day and night on the banks of the river preparing all kinds of rice, milk and sweet-meals to throw to the fishes and crocodiles, immediately when the Brahmans give the word, and they know it is the fortunate hour, which every kind of eclipse it may be, of the sun or moon, the idolaters break all the earthen vessels used in their households and leave not even one piece of it. All this causes a terrible noise in a town[1]. He remarked that the Brahmans of this country (Bihar) great students of the magic art and make their sorceries more apparent than they of any other kingdom in Asia. Every Brahman possessed a book of magic, in which there are a number of circles and semicircles, of squares and triangles, and many other kinds of figures[2].

John Marshall also refers to a bathing festival in August 1671 at the river Gandak. At Monghyr, he witnessed several women washing at the river, who were of fair complexion than most women he had seen in India[3].

Both Fitch[4] and John Marshall[5] noticed the process of burial among Hindus. Fitch writes that "these Indians when they be schorched (referring the corpses partly burnt) and thrown into the water, the men swim with their faces downwards, the women with their faces upwards. He writes that 'I thought that they tied something to them to cause them to do so, but they say no.' John Marshall writes that the

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1. Tavernier, op.cit., Vol.II, p.192.
2. Ibid, Vol.II, p.193,
   Bernier, op.cit., p.244.
3. *John Marshall in India*, pp.19, 75.
4. Ralph Fitch, op.cit., p.23.
5. *John Marshall in India*, p.157.

Hindus throw most of their dead corps after a little burnt in the river Ganges, esteeming it a holy river.

As usual, religion was beset with superstitious beliefs and practices both among the Hindus and the Muslims. Slavery was also prevalent in Bihar. The practice of *sati* was noticed among Hindus[1].

3. Festivals and Fairs

In mediaeval times a considerable portion of the year was set apart for public festivals. Hindu festivals exceeded those of the Muslims in number and gorgeous celebrations. Most of the Hindu festivals are based on mythological, historical and astronomical considerations, while others like *vasant panchami*, *holi* etc. are observed owing to the change in seasons. *Ramanaumi* and *Janmashtami* commemorate the birth day annivarsaries of two of the greatest Hindu *avatars*. There were general uniformity in their observance throughout the country. But they enjoyed various degrees of popularity in different places and were celebrated with certain local modifications[2]. They also used to celebrate harvest festivals on the eve of harvesting[3].

A rare manuscript Tithi Tattva Chintamani of Mahesh Thakur of Darbhanga a contemporary of Akbar provides information about the socio-religious life of the

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1. *John Marshall in India*, pp.137, 142, 358, 384.
   Tavernier, op.cit., Vol.II, p.221.
2. W.W. Hunter, *A statistical Account of Bengal*, District Patna, pp.53-59.
3. L.S.S.O. Malley, *District Gazetteer, Muzaffarpur*, Vol.IV, Calcutta, 1907, pp.34,35.

period[1]. Some informations about the 'varats' or fasts and festivals described by him are as follows which continued from the months of Sravan to Asadh : Gauri Vrat, a women's festival on 3rd sravan; Nag Panchmi Hayagriva in honour of a Pauranic Raja, (now obsolete), Rakhi Bandhan, Krishna Behula Puja, by '*Sohagin*' women on 4th Bhadon, *Krishna janmashtami* on 8th Bhadon, *Kusa Amavasya* by Brahmans with *'Kusa'* grass and *'til'* (seed of sesamum) on 15th Bhadon, *Hari Talika vrat*, by women on 18th *Bhadon*; Ganesh Chaturthi on 19th Bhadon, Surya Shashthi, sun worship by women on 21st *Bhadon, Dwaita Ashtami*, by women on 23rd Bhadon, Gaja Chhaya on 13th *Aswin, Durga Puja* or *Nava-Ratta* (nine nights), the first to the tenth day of the Aswin; the eight day was Maha Ashtami, the ninth was Mahanavami and the tenth vijaya Dashami or Desahrah. The Lakshmi puja and Dipawali, festival of lamps on the 15th and 16th days of *Kartik, Chitra Gupta* and *Dawat Puja* on 17th *Kartik, Chath* and *Ekadasi Deouthan* on 26th *Kartik, Sama Puja*, by women on 30th Kartik, *Kartik purnima* in the honour of Siva's victory, *Kaushika Ashnan* - 30th Kartik, *Makar Sankranti* New Year's festival, *surya vrat*, *Basant panchami* (spring festival), *Bhishma Ashtami, Purnavasi, Ganga Ashnan, Narak Nirban Chaturdeshi, Mahasivratri* on 14th Phagun, whole day in honour of Mahadeva and lastly Holi identified with *Dolyatra* observed on 3rd and 4th Phagun and *Ramanaumi* celebrated on 9th Chait.

Muslim festivals, on the other hand are few in numbers but are celebrated with equal enthusiasm. As a matter of fact, they are the anniversaries of some of the most important events in the early history of Islam. Such as *Id-uz-Zoha* or as it is

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1. *Bihar Through the Ages*, pp.530-31.
   Cf. *Mithila in the age of Vidyapati*, pp.293-302.

commonly called, the *Baqr-i-id*, which commomerates the Hazrat Abrahim's sacrifice of his son, *Id-ul-Fitr* or the festival of breaking the fast, immediately succeeds the month of holy *Ramazan*. This is a festival of feasting and rejoicing. In the provincial capital the governor presided over the *Id* celebration. *Fataha-Dawaz-Dahum* or *Bara-wafat* falling on 12th *Rabi* I, is the great festival of the Muslims. It commemorates the birth and death of the Prophet. For twelve days before the date, meetings are held daily at the mosques, and several private houses, where the *Maulud Sharief* (known as *Milad*) or recitations connected with the birth and life of the prophet are made in prose and verse both.

The *Muharram* is the grandest religious ceremony among the Shia sect. As the festival commemorates the martyrdom of Imam Hasan and Husain, the grandsons of the prophet, demonstrations of grief form its chief characteristics. In Patna and its adjoining areas it was observed not only by Shias but Sunnis Muslims and even majority of Hindus population take a considerable interest in the procession of *tazia* and spectacular displayed which form an important part of the ceremony. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton noticed that it was celebrated with intolerable tumult, but without violence. He estimated the number of pageants (*tazias*) annually exhibited at 14,00, of which 600 were made by Hindus[1].

The two rare collections of letters of later Mughal period (1738) *Insha-i-Gharib* and *Insha-i-ulfat* compiled by Lala Ujagar Chand 'ulfat[2]' gives us a

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1. W.W. Hunter, op.cit., pp.60-62.
   Cf. *District Gazetteer, Darbhanga*, Vol. VI, Calcutta, 1907, pp.32 - 34.
2. Both the Mss are preserved in the library of Bihar Research Society, Patna. For details see, Prof. S.H. Askari, *Islam and Muslims in Medieval Bihar*, Patna, 1989, pp.88-133.

lot of information concerning the cordial relations between Hindus and Muslims and the common participation in *Jashn-i-Chiraghan* on the river Ganges and also in certain festivals and festivities viz. Basant Panchami, Diwali, Nauroz, Muharram etc.

We noticed about periodical fairs which held at the seats of Hindus pilgrimages. In mediaeval times, religious fairs served a double purpose religious and social. To the devout, a visit to holy places and a dip in the holy water were the means of attaining religious merit, but to the common masses they had a social and economic significance also. John Marshall refers the famous Sonepur fair (*mela*) which he witnessed on November, 6, 1671. He writes about a great bathing festival held at the full moon of the Hindi month of *kartik* at the confluence of the *Gandak* and the Ganges at Sonepur. From here most of the pilgrims carry home with some of the holy water. The people came here from Nepal and even Tartary (Central Asia) to visit the place[1]. In *sarkar* Tirhut, at a place known as Saurath, a small village situated about seven miles to the west of Madhubani possessed a beautiful temple and a tank, here a *mela* held annually the people from far flung areas especially Brahmans came to arrange the marriages of their sons and daughters. Each tribe has it Pandits with their pedigree-books who arrange the marriages and decide who can intermarry. The father of the child of higher degree always receives a some of money to make up for the supposed injury done to his caste by the marriage. The arrangement is completed by a sort of document containing the names of the contracting parties[2].

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1. *John Marshall in India*, pp.141-42.
2. W.W. Hunter, op.cit., *Tirhut*, Vol.XIII, pp.41-42.
   L.S.S.O' Malley, *District Gazetteer, Darbhanga*, Vol.VI, p.156.

At Gaya, Hindus coming from long distances make offerings to the souls of their departed ancestors. The special period for such sacrifices is of 40 days, commencing with the passing of the sun into sagittarius. Since ancient times, these sacrifices have been regarded as a must on the part of a Hindu. Without performing it, the departed souls are not redeemed. It is said that Shivaji while escaping from his captivity at the capital, Agra arrived at Gaya incognito to offer pindas (rice-balls) to his ancestors[1]. Bodh Gaya, a few miles away from the town of Gaya, is the most holy place of pilgrimages for the Buddhists, as Mahatma Buddha attained enlightenment here. In *sarkar* Monghyr there is a place named Jarkhand or Baidyanath Dham, sacred to Mahadeva, a very holy place for Hindus. People from long distances come to visit the place and offers prayers to Mahadeva for the fulfilment of their desires[2].

Pawapur, near Patna, is a most holy place of pilgrimage for the Jainas.

Muslim fairs called (*Urs*) were held at Maner and Biharsharif, which attracted a large number of pilgrims from every part of the country. Maner was a place of pilgrimage where lay the grave of Shaikh Yahya Maneri, a noted sufi saint of the 13th century. Emperors like Babar and Akbar had shown great regard for the saints of Maner. They despatched offerings in cash and kind to be offered at his grave during the course of their visits to Bihar. Maner and Biharsharif emerged as great centres of Muslim culture and education[3].

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1. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, Calcutta, 1952, p.158.
2. J.N. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, pp.151-52.
3. *Babarnama*, Eng. tr. Beveridge, Vol.II, p.666
   Akbarnama, Eng. tr. Beveridge, Vol.III, p.132.

4. Religious Life:

The religious life in Bihar during the period under review was characterised by a complex variety of diverse faiths and creeds. Hinduism and Islam were obviously the two most clearly distinct faiths which co-existed and flourished under the Mughals, but Buddhism and Jainism also exerted influence on the religious life of the people. Though Buddhism and Jainism had lost their former predominant positions, their impact was still manifest in the shrines and tombs built during their heyday.

Religious Life of the Hindus and Bhakti :

Broadly speaking within the fold of Hinduism Vaishnavism, Saivism and Saktism had been very prominent in shaping the religious outlook of the Hindus in Bihar.

Of these numerous forces in the religious life of epoch of course Vaishnavism alone had genuinely creative potentialities. The basic idea of which the entire structure of its thought system was built consisted in an inexorable faith in the superiority of devotion (*bhakti*) to knowledge (*Jnana*) as the summum bonum of the religious life. In fact the devout Vaishnana went even further and believed that '*Bhakti*' was the only acceptable creed[1].

The populrity of Rath jatra in some parts of Bihar, of Kirtan songs in the Bhagalpur district, and of the Vishnupad temple at Gaya, indicate the abiding influence of Vaishnavism in Bihar. A Maithili manuscript Candesvara's Kritya-Ratnakar,

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1. S.K. De, *Early History of the Vaishnava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1942, pp.40-45.

compiled from Lakshmidhara's Kritiya-Kalapataru, early in the 14th century, reveals that the worshop of Vishnu, Hari and Krishna was prevalent in Mithila in the 13th and 14th centuries, Candesvara cites pauranic authorities, mostly from the Brahma Purana to show that to observe the Ekadasi or Vishnu's going to sleep on the serpent Ananta as his bed in the month of *Ashadh* and his awakening on the Ekadasi day of *Kartik* is a duty. The rites to be performed in celebrating the birth anniversary of Krishna on the *Janmashtami* day in Bhadra are also elaborated. He does not mention the Lakshmi Puja or Kojagari Purnima in Asvina-Kartika, but prescribes the worship of Vasudeva on the Vijaya Dawadasi taking out a procession of the Lord on the 13th day of the Moon, fasting on the 14th day and worship of Hari on the full moon day. The worship of Vishnu has also been prescribed by him on Chaitrasukla Ekadasi one of the descendants of Candesvara, Govindadattam wrote a Vaishnavite book called Govindamana-sollasa under the Kameshvara dynasty, Yagadhara wrote a commentary on the Gita Govinda[1]. Gaya was a great centre of Vaishnavism in 16th and 17th centuries. When Chaitanya, the founder of the creed visited Gaya to offer pinda he met Isvara Puri and received initiation from him. Mandar in the district of Bhagalpur was another centre of Vaishnavism in Bihar. The fame of the temple of Madhusudan travelled far and wide and attracted a large number of pilgrims from every part of India.

Four of the prominent associates of Sri Chaitanya were Biharis. Brindavana Das writes in his Chaitanya Bhagavata that Parananda Puri, who was an intimate associate of Chaitanya in Orissa, was born in Tirhut, Raghupati Upadhyaya, another

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1. K.K. Datta, *The Life and Thought of the People of Bihar*, Calcutta, 1967, pp.16017.

gifted son of Tirhut met Chaitanya at Varanasi. He was talented poet and six of his devotional verses have been included in Gosvamin's anthology called *Padyavali*[1].

The greatest of the Bihar desciples of Chaitanya was Vishnupuri, the author of *Bhakti Ratnavali*, a selection of devotional verses from the *Bhagavata*, arranged according to a definite scheme for realising *Bhakti*. Francis Buchanan Observes in his Purnea Report, dated 1809: "One Mithila Brahman, about 300 years ago, attempted to dedicate himself to God, and at Benaras went through the ceremonies that entitled him to become a *Dandi*". He further states that his descendants are also called *Vishnupuris* after his name. Buchanan found them living in Purnea[2].

Buchanan also found in Tirhut and Bhagalpur about 70 converts belonging to the Bengal School of Vaishavas, the total number of families of the Vaishnavas was probably 3,000. He found only a few followers of Ramanandi sect in Bihar. He estimates that there were some 100 *Akharas* belonging to this sect, but about 70 of these belonged to those who had been married. "None of them possess", he notes, "any considerable learning, but they understand some of the poems written in the common Hindi dialect[3]."

The Vaishnava festivals like *Jhulana, Ratha* and *Dol* are celebrated with great eclat in these *Akharas* at Gaighat (Patna) which has got a good library attached to it.

But at the same time it may be concluded that Vaishnavism could not do

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1. K.K. Datta, op.cit., p.18.
2. Montgomery Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol.IV, pp.153-65.
3. *Eastern India*, op.cit., p.176.

away with caste system in the Bihari Hindu society. The Brahmans still continued to hold a place of honour in the society inspite of the propagation of the doctrine of universalism by the Vaishanavas and even interdining among the various castes could not be brought into practice. However, within these limitations, caste system among the Vaishanavas was not so rigorous as it was in other castes and untouchability had been to some extent modified.

Saktism, a very widely spread movement was closely linked with *Saivism*. According to *Saktism* the mother Godess is considered as '*Sakti*' power, which is the counterpart of *Shiva*. The latter is static and transcendent while the former is active and immanent, and protector as well as destroyer. The highest attainment consists in partaking of the joy of life as the Mother's devotee, but being free from any attachment to senses or their objects. The *Devi (Durga)* sits on the left hand of the Lord and has her own temples and shrines. The *Tantras*, which are the literature of *Saktas* are sixty four in number and are divided into three groups. Most of them relate to the technique of worship, psychic subjects and occult phenomena. The main aim is sublimation through ritual and symbolism. Tantrism means a system of thought, action and ritual based on the philosophy out lined above. A man can attain perfection (*siddhi*) by going through the various processes of *Yoga*, by meditation, and by murmuring the *mantras* and the sacred syllable '*Om*'. Every letter of the alphabet is regarded as filled with some specific *sakti* or power. The ritual lays stress on the five *tattavas* or elements, viz. wine (*madya*) meat (*mansa*), fish (*matsya*) parched grain (*mudra*) and sexual intercourse (*maithuna*). The underlying principle is that the very sense objects which drag us down and bind us by attachment and enjoyment (*bhoga*) are capable of elevating us to the higher life if sublimated by contemplation (*yoga*) and a proper

technique were used as a means of worship of the Mother Goddess, who is the source of all power and action[1].

John Marshall has referred to the *Jogis* and *faqirs* whom he witnessed at Patna, Hajipur and Sonepur. They were of two kinds, the learned ascetic philosophers or *Jogis* of Sakhya and Yoga, and the wandering religious mendicants who came to Bihar from Kashmir, Nepal and Bhawanagar (Kathiawar) for a dip in the holy Ganges. Marshall noticed many strange things such as their incredible longevity, their power to cure incurable diseases with herbs, pills or powders, their abstinence and celibacy, their power to change their bodies, to regulate or hold their breath and bind their bellies hard for days, and their austerities. Some of the fuckeers (*faqirs*) are said to be excellent chemist[2].

There are references of various 'Tirhut type of temples' which are very old but their date of construction can not be ascertained. But most of which are dedicated to Hara Mahadeva[3].

In 1811 Francis Buchanan in his report says that in Patna the only notable place of worship among the Hindus are the temples of the great and little 'Patandevi', Patanaswari or Goddess of Patna. He adds that the "Little goddess" was got installed in her present situation by the famous Raja Man Singh when he was the provincial governor (1587 - 94) and that it was "much more frequented then that of the great

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1. *Bihar Through the Ages*, pp.521-22.
   Eastern India, op.cit., p.156.
2. *John Marshall in India*, pp.197-200, 208.
3. D.B. Spooner, 'Tirhut types of temples', *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1916, part I, II pp.119-34.

goddess". "The priest was a Kannaujiya Brahmin and had a considerable income", Buchanan goes on to added. It may be noted here that the present structure is not very old or of any great architectural significance but the temple stands on an old site. Q. Ahmad Says that a *farman* of grant of land by Aurangzeb refers to the place where, it appears there was a *pathshala* too[1].

Religious Life of the Muslims and Sufism :

Our knowledge of the state of Islam in Mughal Bihar, particularly during the period under review, is comparatively meagre. Still, it is possible to form some idea regarding its main trends from the study of contemporary *Malfuzats* and *Maktubats* of the Sufi saints and other relevant books[2].

With the gradual expansion of Mughal power in Bihar a large number of cultured and educated Muslims from upper India came to Bihar as officials of various ranks alongwith the *subahdars*. These upperclass and cultured Muslims gradually settled down in this *subah* and thereby introduced into the local Muslim society the fresh breath of higher culture by constructing mosques, *madrasas* an *dargahs*, promoting the Islamic spirit, patronising Muslim scholars and saints encouraging education and literature and performing benevolent activities. As a matter of fact, after years of stagnation, Islam received fresh vigour and orientation in the wake of Mughal conquest and expansion. The spirit of Islam was revived during the Mughal rule in Bihar. With the establishment of a peaceful and regulate administration in the

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1. Q. Ahmad, *Patna Through the Ages*, p.83.
2. In this connection, Prof. S.H. Askari's work entitled *Islam and Muslims in Medieval Bihar* particularly its chapter on 'Sufism in Medieval Bihar' is quite interesting and informative.

province, here came a large number of cultured Persians, scholars, physicians, traders. These immigrants enriched the Muslim Society in Bihar in various ways. A large number of Muslim saints and preachers entered the province. These religious teachers, sufis, philosophers and mendicants considerably influenced the Muslim society and reoriented Islam in Bihar, of course Muslim society in Bihar derived full advantage from this infusion of fresh light from the west.

The Muslim society was noted for its religious character and the orthodox Muslims regulated their life in accordance with teachings of the *Quran* and the *Hadith*. The *Ulama* constituted the religious class of the Society. They occupied a highly respectable position in the Muslim Society by virtue of their possession of religious knowledge and Islamic jurisprudence.

The vast majority of the Muslims in Bihar belonged to the Hanafi school of law[1]. The fundamentals of Islam (*Iman* belief in one God and prophet Mohammad as the last prophet of Islam, *Namaz* - prayer, *Roza* - Fasting, *zakat* - poor - tax and *Haj* - pilgrimage) have remained in all ages the core of the Muslim religious belief[2].

Mughal Bihar as well witnessed a large influx of Shites, due to the political and cultural connections between the Timurids of India and the Safavids of Persia. The term Shia connotes 'party' and is used to designate those Muslims who support

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1. Imam Abu Hanifa, a Muslim Jurist was born in 699 A.H. The Hanafite school of thought named after him, was one of the four schools of Islami jurisprudence, the other three being the Shafai, the Maliki, and the Hanbali. The Hanafi school does not differ in essentials from other three schools. Imam Abu hanifa was attacked by his opponents on the grounds that he attached little importance to tradition but rather independently followed his own judgement.
2. H.A.R. Gibb, *Mohammadanism*, Home University Library, London, 1951, p.53.

the claims of Hazrat Ali, the fourth caliph (according to Sunni enumeration) as the first and rightful successor to the prophet. The shiaite *Fiqh* (law) differs from the sunni system mainly on the doctrine of the '*Imamat*' (office of the Imam as religious leader). From the time of Humayun the gradual influx of the shiahs made them a quite important section in the Muslim community. During the reign of Aurangzeb, one Mirza Muiz 'Fitrat' entitled Musavi Khan, a Persian shia, was appointed as *diwan* of Bihar[1]. For him, the very sight and smell of jack fruit (*Kathal*) was repulsive. However, he satisfied the fondness of Hajipur people for big sweet, bulky, fruit by growing *sarda* melons and despatching very good specimens and present to Shaif Khan, the then governor of Allahabad. The commemoration of the Karbala tragedy made special appeal to the sentiments of he common people - shias and sunnis alike in Bihar as well. However, one may not deny about their impact on Muslim Society.

Sufism in Bihar

Sufism is the mystical movement in Islam[2]. Originating among the early Arab Muslims, Sufism flourished most in the soil of Persia. It eventually developed

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1. S.H. Askari, Maadan-ul-Insha, A rare collection of letters, *Indian Historical Records. Commission*, Part, II, December, 1958, p.193.
In reply to a letter of Musavi Khan, the *diwan* of Bihar (follo.89 a) saying that having become sick of the opposition of some people ever since his appointment to this *subah* he had thought of retiring from service but receipt of a fresh imperial mandate had held him back and he hoped on meeting him to get an acquittal of the blame laid upon himself. Buzurg Ummed Khan the governor wrote (Folio, 78 a) that having heard of the noble qualities and excellent manner of that rare one of the age "he was anxious to enjoy his company and welcomed his decision to reach Patna immediately." So one may think that how far he was "cultured and sophisticated".
2. A.J. Arberry, *Sufism*, London, 1956, p.12.

into many orders (*Silsilahs*). Many sufis came to India from the lands of Islam in western and central Asia and settled in different provinces including Bihar.

The earliest reference of a renowned saint of Jerusalem, Imam Taj Faqih who is said to have conquered Bihar in 1180 before the invasion of Bakhtiyar Khalji[1]. According to a tradition Hazrat Momin Arif[2] who hailed from Yamen, came to Bihar and settled in Maner, where he is reported to have been persecuted by the local chief. He then left Maner and set out for Medina where he got the company of Imam Taj Faqih. Then both of them returned to Bihar and conquered Maner. At Maner, near the western gate of *Bari-Dargah*, the graves of the family members of *Taj Faqih* still traced. A special type of sweet is also called as *Taj-Shahi* after their names. After the victory Imam Taj Faqih is reported to have returned to Arabia leaving his sons and grandsons at Maner. However, he was the forefather of later sufis of Bihar. Hazrat Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri the great 13th century mystic of Bihar was the grandson of Imam Taj Faqih.

In Bihar, the *Chishtis*, the *Qadris*, the *Shattaris* and the *Firdausia* orders were very prominent.

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1. S.H. Askari, A 15th century Shuttari sufi of North Bihar, *J.B.O.R.C.*, 1951, Vol.37, pt., 1-2, p.73.
   S. Shamim Ahmad, Bihar-ke-Sufia-i-Karam, *Maarif*, Azamgarh, November, 1963, pp.349-50.
2. *Hafiz Shams-uddin Ahmad, 'Maner and its Historical Remains, The proceedings an transition of All India Oriental Conference,* Patna, 1930, p.137. His grave is still pointed out to the north-west of inspection bunglow at Maner. The *urs* held annually. A large number of residence of Maner claims their descent from him.

John Marshall refers to the 'Moor's Tombe' about two miles from the Ashokan pillar at Bakhra, upon the top of a steep Hill, which appears originally to have been stupa. But this 'Moor' was the great Shattari sain Hazrat Qazi Ola alias Shaikh Qazin Shattari of Banya Basarh[1]. There are references of various Sufi saints of Bihar which lived during the Mughal times. Abdul Latif, a Gujarati who travelled from Agra to Rajmahal via Patna, during the reign of Jahangir in 1608, furnishes us interesting information about the cultural activities of Bihar. He writes that "Bihar is a place of grace, where many holy men and saints repose in their graves. Even at the present time some good and pious men live here, one of them being Shaikh Humayun, a man of religious abstraction, who has done and is doing many acts contrary to custom (super human deeds)."

He further informs that Hilsa a village (near Biharsharif town) contained a tomb of Shah Chaman Chishti, which has a lofty dome on which a pitcher, (called *kalas* in Hindi) has been fixed which turns inone direction at all hours[2]. The sufis of the Shattari order ocupied a significant place in the history, religion, learning and the light of spiritual knowledge in Bihar. Muhammad Ghaus bin Hasan Shattari, a contemporary of Akbar and Jahangir wrote a book named *Gulzar-i-Abrar* and dedicated it to the Shattari saints of Bihar. Two rare manuscript of Shattari order was also discovered in Bihar. One of them *Aurad-i-Imamuddin Rajgiri*, it is a *malfuz* of Shah Ruknuddin Shattari, a saint of 17th century, compiled by his desciple, Pir

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1. *John Marshall in India*, pp.82.
2. Abdul Latif, Travels in Bihar, 1608 A.D. tr. J.N. Sarkar, *J.B.O.R.S.* 1919, pp.598-99.

Imamuddin Shattari of Rajgir (who born in 1648 and died in 1718 A.D.) and the other *Minhaj-ush-Shattar* written by Muhammad Nadir, a desciple of Shaikh Qazin Shattari of Banya Basarh[1]. There is one more book named *Maadan-ul-Asrar* compiled by an ancestor of Imamuddin Shattari, a standard work on the principles and practices of the Shattari order based on the sayings of 15th century saint Shaikh Qazin Shattari[2]. These are very valuable works and of great literary value.

S.H. Askari has also referred to two important saints of Bihar Syed Ahmad and Syed Muhammad popularly known as Pir Damaria whose graves situated at Hajipur consisted, a graveyard, mosque and Dargah. A *farman* of Aurangzeb also refers to the context of these saints[3].

In *sarkar* Hajipur a village Jandaha, 20 miles east of it was the residence of Hazrat Jandah, a saint of considerable eminence and the place came to be called after his name[4]. This revered saint who gave the name to the place and the river flows near it, was known as *Diwan* Shah Ali.

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1. S.H. Askari, 'A 15th century Shattari Sufi saint of Bihar', *Proceedings of Indian History Cogress*, 1950, pp.148-59.
2. Q. Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscription of Bihar*, p.213 f.n.2.
3. S.H. Askari, Documents Relating to an Old Family of Sufi Saints of Bihar, *Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol.XXVI, part, II, 1949, pp.1-7.
4. John Christian, On some names of places in Bihar, Their origin and History, *Calcutta Review*, Vol.XCII, 1891, pp.44-45.
   L.S.S.O.' Malley, *District Gazetteer, Muzaffarpur*, Calcutta, 1907, Vol.4 pp. 145-47.
   It is said that one summer day he felt very thirsty and asked a man to fetch some water. The man was rude enough to reply that there were no water to be had close by, whereupon he got very angry and during his anger called on the

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It is reported that a number of saints who migrated from various places and came to Darbhanga during the reign of Aurangzeb and they considered services to humanity as an essential duty[1]. Among them Hazrat Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband, came to Darbhanga in 1114 A.H. (1702 A.D.) from Sirhind Sharif (Punjab). A number of inhabitants of this place became his desciple (*Murid*). It is said that he was the perfect mystic of his time. He was buried at Mohallah Jethiahi of Darbhanga.

Hazrat Shah Ghulam Mustafa Qadri son of Hazrat Abdullah Banhatti, originally from Sanbhal (Moradabad) visited Darbhanga in 1705 and settled there. His grave is situated at mohallah Bazidpur near Qila ghat (Darbhanga).

Maulana Khan Mohammad Naqshband was one of the noted mystics of Darbhanga. A large number of people still traced their spiritual descent or geneology from him. A separate mohallah named "Maulana Khan Mohammad" sprang up there. He constructed a well which is still known as "Naqshband - ka - kuan". His grave is also known as "*Naqshband-ka-mazar*[2]."

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water to flow that way saying ('bia') come immediately a river began to approach the place cutting away intervening land and causing devastation and ruin to thousands of villagers as it advanced. This so terrified the neighbouring people that they came in a group and find out the *Diwan* Shah Ali to have pity on them and cause the river to spare their land. The Shah Ali called out 'Jandah' "do not drown" and thus the river stopped encroaching and from right now it began to flow quietly in its present channel. Thus, the river was called 'bia' and the town Jandaha and the saint became famous as Hazrat Jandaha.

1. Mohammad Ilyas Rahmani, Uhd-i-Islamia-mein Darbhanga *per-ek-majmooi nazar Maasir*, Patna, July, 1949, p.85.
2. Ibid. p.85.

Hazrat Pir Ramzan Shah Jilani came to Darbhanga during the last days of Aurangzeb's reign. It is said that he laid the foundation stone of Jami mosque in Mohalla Qila where he lies buried[1].

Hazrat Makhdum Shah Abdul Latif Ghazi bin Shaikh Suhail, a saint of repute, buried at mohallah Banglagarh (Darbhanga) on the bank of river, Bagmati[2].

One Maulana Muhammad Nasir of Patna, through a petition attracted the attention of Prince Azim-ush-Shan, the then governor of Bihar towards the deteriorating condition of 64 tombs of sufi saints of Bihar. In which, he had requested for the grants-in-aid for the preservation of them[3].

These mystic saints made contributions in their own way to the growth of social and cultural life of the period under consideration. They formed a group of latitudinarians, men of wide sympathies, broad minded, liberal and tolerant. They played an important part in moulding the attitude and activities of the people. They were free from lust and pride. They attempted to bridge the gulf between orthodoxy and true spirit of Islamic faith. They spoke the languages of the masses and gave impetus to linguistic assimilation and fusion to a cultural synthesis. They made important contribution to the evolution of a common mixed language, *Khariboli* or

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1. Ibid. p.85.
2. Ibid. p.86.
3. Syed Mohd. Mustafa, 'Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan-ko-ek arzdasht' *Sada-i-Am* (Urdu daily) Id number, 1950. As quoted in: S.A.A. Auranvi, *Bihar-mein-Urdu Zabn-o-Adab-ka-irtaqa*, Patna, 1951, p.107.

Hindustani in Bihar[1]. They also played a significant role in the propagation of their faith more by their examples and services to humanity by actual conversions. They laid emphasis on learning, purity of character and simplicity of life-style. Some of the sufis were scholars, men of vast erudition, and acted as teachers. They won the hearts of the common masses by their love and liberalism, sincerity of purpose, charity, piety and social services.

The Sikhs in Bihar

Guru Govind Singh, the tenth and the last of the Sikh Gurus, the great patriot saint and founder of the sikh military brotherhood was born in 1666 during the reign of Aurangzeb in a house near the Patna city chowk. It is said that Guru Tegh Bahadur, on his way to Assam on a peace mission, had left his wife at Patna where she gave birth to a son[2]. This house has become a place of pilgrimage for sikhs from all over India.

There is a temple called Harimander, constructed at the spot where Guru Gobind Singh was born. It contained Guru's cradle, shoes, swords, arrows and a beautiful embroidered copy of the holy book of the Sikhs, the Guru Granth Saheb, which is reported to contain the Guru's name written by himself with the point of arrow. This temple is considered as one of the four great sacred places of the Sikhs for pilgrimage purpose. There laid down a strict rule for becoming the Mahenth of

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1. S.H. Askari, *Qurun-i-Wusta-ke-Bihar-mein Islami - Tasawwuf - ke - tarikhi-ahmiyat'.*
   Saathi, Annual number, (Urdu), Patna, September, 1952, pp.50-56.
2. Ganda Singh, (ed.) *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs*, Calcutta, 1962, p.67.

this temple, that he must belong to the puritanical sect of Akalis, and not be a native of Patna[1]. One of the earliest references to this temple in Persian Chronicles is found in *Miratul Ahwal-i-Jahan Numa* written by Mulla Ahmad Bahbahani, who paid a visit and stayed at Patna at the end of the 18th century and has given his impressions of men and institutions of the old city. He writes that "over the birth place of Guru Gobind Singh, the Sikhs have raised a public edifice, made it a place of power and strength and called it Harmandir. It is also known as *Sangat* and is held in great esteem and veneration. They have made it a place of pilgrimage, which is one of the holiest and the most celebrated sikh Shrines in whole of Eastern India".

A detailed and informative account of this shrine of the *Sikhs* has come down to us from the pen of Charles Wilkins who stayed at the temple for about two hours on 1 March, 1781 A.D. He has provided us a graphic description of the building and the area it covered, the mode of daily worship and the interestig ceremonies performed at the time of initiation in the Sikh faith[2].

5. Sports and Games

The author of *Mithila Tatto Vimash* quotes from a contemporary work *Dvait Vivek* which refers to Raja Rup Narain alias Rambhadra Dev, playing chess with Sultan Sikandar Lodi at Patna. The game has always been popular with both Hindus and Muslims. Ganjafa (a game played with a pack of 96 cards divided into 8

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1. L.S.S.O. 'Malley, *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Patna*, Revised by J.F.W. James, Patna, 1924, pp.72, 189.
2. For details see, *Comprehensive History of Bihar,* Vol.II Pt.II, pp.254-293, The present multistoreyed, all marble, structure was constructed in 1957.

suits), said to have been introduced by Babar, was played by the nobility. Kite flying was a favourite pastime among many classes of people in Patna and Bihar. Pigeon-flying and the objectionable sport of cock-fighting and ram-fighting were also enjoyed. An interesting account of an animal-fight enjoyed by the incompetent governor of Bihar, Mir Jumla, has been given by the historian Sheo Das[1].

6. Development of Education and Literature in Bihar

Education and learning and their diffusion have been urged upon the faithful by Prophet Muhammad as compulsory acts of religion. His numerous sayings have emphasised the unmistakable terms the importance of education and learning, and the Muslims inspired by them. They took keen and active interest in both religious and secular studies during the medieaval age. Their contribution to all branches of learning was consequently immense. The Prophet is reported to have remarked.

> "A fragment of knowledge is worth more than a hundred prayers" and "that the scholar's ink is more sacred than the martyr's blood[2]."

The Sultans and the Mughal emperors, princes and nobles encouraged the establishment of schools and colleges in their realms for the education of their subjects. They created vast endowments in the form both of land and cash for the maintenance of these educational institutions. Teachers and scholars engaged in the pursuit of knowledge and were granted liberal allowances to ensure financial security and dignity in the society. Establishment of educational institutions had been in the mediaeval

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1. *Bihar Through the Ages*, p.534.
2. S. Amir Ali, *The Ethics of Islam* second edn. Calcutta, 1951, pp.49-52.

period a voluntary enterprise of a teacher who received no fees from his pupils but the men of means provided financial assistance to him to maintain himself as well as meet the expenditure of the school or *madrasa*.

The *subah* of Bihar, under the Mughals, had the privilege of having numerous renowned educational institutions scattered over different parts of the province. As a matter of fact, it had various important centres of learning and culture, and it produced some noted scholars of Islamic jurisprudence, poets, writers etc. in various languages and literature. Their contributions in their respective fields were enormous.

The Ulama[1]

The Ulama of Bihar were so much famous in their scholastic persuits that even the Mughal emperors invited them to their courts for academic purposes. During the reign of Aurangzeb, five eminent scholars from Bihar were invited to work in the project of the compilation of *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri*. The president of the board of experts to which this major project had been entrusted was *Shaikh Nizam*, a reputed theologian from Bhagalpur[2]. The other four members who belonged to this province were : Shaikh Raziuddin of Bhagalpur[3], Mulla Mohammad Shafi and Mulla Mohammad

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1. The Ulama constituted a very influential section of Muslim society in mediaeval ages. They were held in high esteem on account of their religious knowledge and learning Cf. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some aspects of Religion and Politics in India, During the Thirteenth Century*, V 'The Ulama, pp.150-73, Delhi, 1974.
2. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.316.
3. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p94. He was given three rupees daily for this great service. W.W. Hunter, *An Statistical Account of Bengal, District, Bhagalpur,* Vol.XIV, p.82.

Faiq[1], and Mulla Fasihuddin[2].

Besides these scholars there were numerous others, like Mohiuddin popularly known as Mulla Sahikh Mohan Bihari, equally reputed for their vast contribution to religious learning and scholarship. Mulla Shaikh Mohan Bihari had been the teacher of Aurangzeb and was held in high esteem by the latter[3]. In one of his letter addressed to Shah Nematullah, Aurangzeb writes that pleasant smell came to him from Bihar to which his teacher, Mulla Mohan, belonged. Aurangzeb quotes a verse from the *Quran*, acknowledges the boundless blessings received which were

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1. S.H. Askari, 'Gleanings from Miscellaneous collections of village Amathua in Gaya.'
Indian Historical Records Commission, pt.II, 1951. pp.1-7 on the basis of two Mss. *Shajarat-ul-Ansab-un-Nurania* and *Tuhfat-ul-Aqran*, which deals with various *farmans, sanads* and their renewals etc. Prof. Askari has attempted to trace the various families of Amathua (in Jahanabad, district Gaya) with their ancestors and descendants.
Mulla Mohd. Shafi and Mulla Mohd. Faiq's ancestor, Khwaja Mahmud and Usmani Shaikh respectively was decended on his mother's side, in the eleventh line, from the celebrated founder of the Qadiriya order of Sufism named Hazrat Abdul Qadir Jilani. They came from Ghazni via Sirhind and Delhi to Bihar in the 14th century during the time of the celebrated saint scholar of Biharsharif, Makhdum Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri. Mulla Shafi was a great scholar and an efficient calligraphist and a pious saint. He received his spiritual grace from his maternal uncle, Miran Mohiuddin Qalander (ibid.) Cf. Report of the Regional Record Survey Committee, Bihar, 1959-60, p.3.
2. Syed Shah Mohd. Shoib, *Ayyan-i-Watan*, (*Asarat-i-Phulwari Sharif*) Patna, 1947, p.110.
He was paid one Rupees daily and granted 120 *bighas* of land in *Pargana* Phulwari (*Sarkar* Bihar) as *madad-i-maash* grant. After his death, the grant was confirmed to their sons.
3. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Maasir-ul-Karam*, p.43.
Cf. Zahiruddin Faruki, *Aurangzeb and His Times,* Lucknow, 1935, p.543.
S.H. Askari, '*Maadan-ul-Insha*, A Rare Collection of Letters', *I.H.R.C.*, Part II, 1958, p.189.

beyond any description by pen or tongue[1]. It reveals that he possessed great veneration for him. Another theologian of fame who had taught Princess Zeb-un-Nisa, the youngest daughter of Aurangzeb, was Mulla Abul Hasan, a resident of Darbhanga[2]. Zeb-un-Nisa's another teacher, Mulla Muhammad Saiyid, was an inhabitant of Monghyr, and a poet with the pen - name of Ashraf[3].

Some other distinguished theologians who lived in Bihar during the reign of Akbar were : Maulana Hafiz Shaikh Abdur Razzaq Bihari *Shaikh-ul-Waqt* Maulana Abdun Nabi and Maulana Abdul Muqtadir Mohaddis etc. They were patronised by the Emperor and his nobles[4]. Qazi Mohibbullah Bihari alias Abdush Shakoor was a great scholar of Bihar in the time of Aurangzeb. He was born at a village Katra Mohib Alipur, near Biharsharif. After his early education, he went to the Deccan, where he was appointed as *qazi* of Hyderabad by Aurangzeb. He later became the *qazi* of Lucknow. The Emperor then made him the tutor of Muhammad Mu'azzam Shah Alam, and impressed by his abilities and learning bestowed on him the title of Fazil Khan. His major works are : *Sallam-ul-Ulum*, a book on logic and philosophy,

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1. *Maadan-ul-Insha*, Patna Ms. fol.101 a.
2. Bihari Lal, *Ain-i-Tirhut* Lucknow, 1884, pp.93-94. For this service he was given a Jagir of 101 villages in *Sarkar* Tirhut. The author also claimed that he was witnessed Several letters of Princess Zeb-un-Nisa addressed to his revered teacher, written in her hand writing (Ibid. p.93).
3. Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteer, Monghyr, Patna, 1926, pp.241-42. Mulla Muhammad Saiyad originally hailed from Mazandaran (a province of Persia), later came to India and settled at Monghyr and was employed by Prince Azim-ush-Shan, governor of Bihar. Later in 1704, he died and buried at Monghyr. He was the author of many works.
4. Syed Akhtar Ahmad Aurainvi, *Bihar mein Urdu Zaban-o-Adab ka Irtaqa*, (1204 to 1857 A.D.) A published D. Litt. Thesis, Patna, 1957, p.113.

Musallam-us-Saboot, a book on principles of jurisprudence (*Fiqa*), written during 1697-98 A.D. *Aljawahar-ul-Fard* and Risala *Mughalta-i-Amat-ul-Warud*. These valuable works are of high standard and significance, and still are highly appreciated by the theologians. He died in 1708 and was buried at mohallah chandpur, Biharsharif[1].

Maulvi Ghulam Yahya Bihari, belonged to village Ikra, about sixteen miles from Biharsharif town. He lived during the reign of Aurangzeb and was a *alim* of great eminence. Among his contemporaries, he was considered a great intellectual and philosopher. His famous work is known as '*Hashiya-Mirzahid*, which was very popular among the scholars. He died in 1716 and was buried within the precinct of Makhdum Sharfuddin's Dargah at Biharsharif[2].

There are references to a few more *alims* of Darbhanga who flourished during the period under review, Mulla Abul Hasan, the tutor of princess Zeb-un-Nisa was an *alim* of repute. His grave is situated at mohallah Hasan Chak, Darbhanga, after his name. His son Mulla Muhammad Munam was rewarded and given a grant of 150 bighas of land as *madad-maash* after the death of his father in 1685[3].

Mufti Zeyaullah, was a *mufti* of Darbhanga during the times of Aurangzeb. He was a great Muslim jurist of his time. The mufti mohalla of Darbhanga where he resided continues to serve as a reminder of his name and fame[4].

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1. Rahman Ali, *Tazkira-e-Ulama-i-Hind*, tr. Ayub Qadri, Karachi, 1961, p.405.
2. *Tazkira-e-Ulma-i-Hind*, p.371.
3. Mohammad Ilyas Rahmani, op.cit., p.86.
4. Ibid. p.86.

Pattern of Education

As pointed out earlier the Mughal government had not created any department of public instructions either at the Centre or in the provinces, and had not directly assumed the responsibility of establishing educational institutions on a large scale and developing system by which the boys and girls of the common folk could be educated. Nevertheless, the government took special care to provide adequate financial assistance to individuals and institutions engaged in imparting and spreading education in the cities, towns and villages of the empire. These institutions had been generally set up in the mosques, temples and religious shrines of both Hindus and Muslims. Every citizen was free to acquire the kind of knowledge he chose for his children, so education was not state controled sphere of cultural activities of the society, but absolutely a private affair unhampered by official policy or plan.

During the period under review primary education was imparted in a *maktab*[1] that was generally attached to a mosque maintained by the people of locality, unlike the present day primary schools established and maintained by the government. The secondary education was imparted in the *madrasas* run by teachers but supported by the rich people and financial grants from the government. For higher education the students had to go to famous seminaries or centres of learning presided and governed by eminent scholars who gave lectures on subjects in which they had been recognised as experts. In the *khanqahs* the saints also delivered lectures on mysticism to their desciples and seekers of knowledge who permanently lived there

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol.III, pp.278-79.
   Akbarnama, Vol.III, pp.106-107.
   Manucci, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.346-47.

Khulasat-ul-Maktabi, an anonymous work written in 1699, 42 regnal year of Aurangzeb, supplies new and valuable information with regard to the various subjects taught at the *madrasas* or schools of secondary education in the province of Bihar[1]. This work contains a list of books prescribed for different courses which were studied in these schools.

The books recommended under each head were as follows :

Prose and Composition :

Insha-i-Yusufi

Marqumat of Mulla Jami and Mulla Munir,

Maktubat-i-Abul Fazl

Guldasta-i-Shaikh Inayatullah (Secretary to Shahjahan),

Bahar-e-Sukhan of Muhammad Saleh,

Karnama-i-Lalchand,

Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri,

Munshat of Shaida and Mulla Tughra,

Lilawati (translated by Shaikh Faizi)

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1. This rare MS. copy of *Khulasat-ul-Maktabi* was discovered by Maulvi Abul Hasnat Nadir in the Library of Desnah (Biharsharif).
See also, G.M.D. Sufi, *Al-Minhaj*, being the revolution of curriculum in the Muslim educational institutions of India, Lahore, 1941, pp.76-77.

Poetry :

Yusuf Zulaikha, Tuhfat-ul-Ahrar and Nuskhat-ul-Abrar of Mulla Jami,

Sikandarnama, Makhzan-e-Israr,

Haft Paiker, Shirin Khusrau, Laila Majnun of Nizami,

Qiranus Sadain, Matla-ul-Anwar, and *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* of Amir Khusrau.

Besides these, the *diwans* (volumes) of Shams Tabriz *Zahir-i-Faryabi, Saadi, Badr-i-Chach,* Faizi, Saib and Hafiz and *Qasidas* of Anwari, Khaqani and Urfi.

Fiction :

Tutinama-i-Bakhshi,

Anwar Suhaili of Mulla Hussain Waiz Kashfi,

Ayyar-i-Danish of Abul Fazl,

and *Bahar-i-Danish* of Shaikh Inayatullah.

History :

Shahnama of Firdausi,

Zafarnama of Sharfuddin Ali

Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi,

Akbarnama,

Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri of Mutamad Khan,

Mahabharat (Translation)

Ethics :

Akhlaq-i-Nasiri

Akhlaq-i-Jalali

The *maktubats* (letters) of Syed Shah Sharfuddin Ahmad Yahya Maneri, *Nuzhat-ul-Arwah*,

Masnavi of Rumi, and *Hadiqah* of *Sanai*[1].

Centres of Education and Learning

In the numerous town and cities of Bihar a considerable number of educational institutions had developed, particularly the *madrasas* of Patna and Bhagalpur became famous and attracted students from all corners of the country. The *madrasas* at Biharsharif, Phulwarisharif (near Patna), Barh, Maner, Rajgir and Hajipur, etc. were also important centres of education. In *sarkar* Tirhut, the area of Mithila was a big Centre of Sanskrit education and learning.

Patna :

The city of Patna (Azimabad), under the Mughals maintained its reputation

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1. G.M.D. Sufi, op.cit, pp.76-78.
Cf. S.N. Haider Rizvi, Education in Muslim India, *Calcutta Review*, December, 1940, pp.315-16.

of being an important seat of learning. Here had gathered scholars and saints who found new opportunities and contributed to the promotion of education and learning among the masses[1].

Mohammad Sadiq a contemporary of Jahangir and Shahjahan has portrayed a very clear and vivid picture of the educational activities of this capital city of Bihar. As described by him the city of Patna was very famous on account of its inhabitants of sweet and virtuous disposition[2]. Mohammad Sadiq lived in Patna for four years and spent most of his time in the pursuit of knowledge, participating in literary gatherings and meeting various scholars and saints of the city[3]. The most important scholars with whom he came into contact were :- Maulana Mohammad Hussain

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1. Abdul Latif, op.cit., p.599. Describing about the city of Patna, Abdul Latif writes thus "Patna is a very sweet (*Latif*) city and honoured (*Sharif*) place by reasons of its air, it is place of perpetual spring (*hamisha-e-bahar*). Its water is perfect in taste and agreeable (to the stomach). Its inhabitants are extremely healthy and robust. In spaciousness and good appearance (*nek-tarahi*) the city resembles Ahmadabad, "the best of the cities of Hind". All kinds of articles required by men for food and clothing are twice or thrice as cheap and abundant here as in other places. In truth, it is a place fit to live in, hence many traders and comfort loving men have opted it for their permanent residence. In no other city of India can be seen so many men of Iran and Khorasan, as have taken up their residence here."
2. Mohammad Sadiq, *Subh-i-Sadiq*, Aligarh MS. fol. 528 b.
3. *Subh-i-Sadq*, fol.518 a. At Patna, two scholars named Mir Muizuddin Mohammad and Maulana Abdush Shakoor, they acted as his revered teachers (ibid., fol.517 b).

Kashmiri[1], Mirza Mohammad Hussain Sirfi Ghaffari Qazwini[2], Hakim Arif[3], and Maulana Hamidud-din[4]. The author has taken note of same other famous learned men who visited Patna during this period, Maulana Nadim Gilani, Mirza Qasim Imami Isphani, Mir Mohammad Said, Rizai, Ibrahim Hussain Kabuli and Mir Habibullah etc. are worth mentioning[5].

Saif Khan, a governor of Bihar in the reign of Shahjahan, had founded a school. *Madrasa-i-Saif* Khan, in Patna, to meet the educational needs of the local people. Saif Khan was the husband of Malika Bano, the eldest sister of Mumtaz Mahal[6]. The school had a hostel and houses accommodate 136 students and teaching staff. The rooms of the hostel were single seated and had hemispherical domed roofs.

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1. *Subh-i-Sadiq*, Fol.518 a. The author studied some books under his guidance. He was an erudite scholar, equally at home in classical and rational learning, after serving several years as a teacher, he died at Patna in 1037 A.H. (1627 A.D.).
2. *Subh-i-Sadiq*, fol.518a. He was a well known and noted Calligraphist of his age.
3. *Subha-i-Sadiq*, Fol. 518a. He was a skilled poet of his age. He came to India during the reign of Akbar and employed during the reign of Jahangir and he made Patna as his residence. Later he went to Bengal and died there in 1625. A.D.
4. Ibid. fol.518a.
5. *Subh-i-Sadiq*, fol.518 a, 519a, 519b.
6. Ahmad Al-Behbani, *Mirat-ul-Ahwal-i-Jahan Numa*, Azimabad, 1810, fol.147b, 207. A persian traveller of late 18th and early 19th centuries who visited Patna in 1809, who has given the foundation date of this *madrasa* as 1035 A.H. (1628 A.D.).

The school continued imparting education to the middle of the 18th century. Now its building two storied gateway are in ruins[1].

Besides, *madrasa-zainabia* at Phulwari Sharif, Khanqah Imadiya in *mohallah* Mangal Talab of Patna, *madrasa* of Rajgir and the *madrasas* of Mulla Badh Haqqani and Mahmud Danishmand at Barh in *sarkar* Bihar also existed during this period, but no detailed information regarding the either their organization or educational activities is available. The *Khanqah* of Phulwari Sharif was a great centre of Muslim religious learning and instructions, and it is still active in the dissemination of mystic studies among the Muslims.

Bhagalpur :

Bhagalpur was the next important centre of learning and education in Bihar. There flourished several families of scholars and saints who were engaged in the noble profession of teaching and advancement of learning in the society. They maintained their own educational institutions for the propagation of religious as well as secular education among the masses. The famous *madrasa* of Bhagalpur founded by one Maulana Shahbaz Bhagalpuri, a contemporary of Jahangir, had earned a good reputation. Both primary as well as higher education was imparted there. The Mughal

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1. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.II, (tr.) p.691.
The Travels of Peter Mundy, Vol.II, pp.108, 159. *Bihar* and *Orissa District Gazetteer*, District Patna, 1924, p.184.
Cf. Abul Hasanat Nadvi, *Hindustan ki Qadim Islami Darsgahen*, Azamgarh, 1971, pp.54-55.
S.H. Askari, Bihar in the time of Shahjahan, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 7th session,1944, p.350 and f.n.11. The *mohallah* in which it is situated (near the Chowk Police Station) is still called as *madrasa* ghat.

Emperors from Shahjahan to Muhammad Shah in the mid-eighteenth century had assigned *jagirs* for the upkeep of this school. The building of the *madrasa* is still extant in *mohallah* Mulla Chak, which has perhaps been named after Maulana Shahbaz[1].

Mithila :

Mithila which forms the north eastern part of the Bihar state was yet another famous centre of higher learning. It was a strong hold of Brahmanical culture. Mithila's reputation as a centre of learning dated back to the times of the *upanishads*. The famous philosopher king Janaka of Videha (Mithila) used to send out periodical invitations to learned Brahmans of the Kuru-Panchala country together at his court for purposes of philosophical discussions. Under him Eastern India was verying with north western India in holding the palm of learning. In the time of the *Ramayana*, the

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1. J.S. Jha, 'An Early Enquiry into the Native Education' *I.H.R.C.*, Vol.XXXIII, pt. II, 1958, pp.100-104. Maulana Shahbaz was a very religious minded person and was famous for his profound knowledge and learning. He was held in high esteem by all classes of people. Nearly two hundred persons daily attended his lectures on the theology and philosophy of Islam. He also maintained a charitable fund from the donations of the wealthy people, out of which he met the expenses of his desciples. He died during the early part of Shahjahan reign (i.e. 1630). After his death, his descendants ran the institution successfully and maintained it high standards. Various *farmans* including a *farman* of Shah Shuja dated 1059 A.H. granting 519 *bighas* of lands is contained in the collection of Bhagalpur District Records, Vol.III, (1781-83), pp.182-84.
Cf. Buchanan, F. Account of Bhagalpur, p.202. In 1810 Buchanan visited the madrasa and made a study of its condition, he remarked that Mohd. Faiq, the head of the *Maulvis*, was extremely learned in Arabic and Persian, and the *madrasa* had forty students. The madrasa is still functioning at Bhagalpur but with some modifications due to the lack of resources etc.

Mahabharata, and the *Buddhist* literature, Mithila retained the renown of its Vedic days[1].

It retained its importance throughout the ages and made notable contributions in the realm of difficult and scientific subjects. Even during the Mughal days, it used to draw students from all parts of the country for specialized study in logic (*Nyaya*) which formed an important branch of study in Mithila. The *Nyaya* system of discipline made Mithila internationally famous. According to this the stress on concentrated contemplation and meditation as a step towards true knowledge is not at all possible for a man until he has shed his defects[2]. Abul Fazl also refers to the Mithila's scholastic attainments when he say, "Thirhut (Mithila) has from immemorial time been a seat of learning and a centre of Hindu Culture[3]." The author of *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* also corroborates it[4]. It is to be remembered in this context that the *sarkar* Tirhut is said to have been granted to Raghunandan Das Rai an accomplished logician of this school of Mithila, in recognition of his vast erudition. He was a desciple of Mahesh Thakur, a great scholar of his time, who performed intellectual digvijay (conquest of all quarters) at the instance of Emperor Akbar. It is said that the obedient pupil in turn offered it to his teacher Mahesh Thakur, as his fee for teaching him (Guru-Dakshina)[5].

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1. R.K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education*, Delhi, 1960, p.596.
2. R.K. Chaudhary, *The Mithila in the Ages of Vidyapati*, Varanasi, 1976, p.221.
3. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.165.
4. J.N. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, p.49.
5. R.K. Mookerji, op.cit., p.597, Thus, Mahesh Thakur became the founder of Darbhanga Raj Family.

Abdul Hamid Lahori, the court historian of Emperor Shahjahan has also given an interesting account which throws fresh light on the fame of Mathila Pandits. He writes, "on September, 14, 1629, Yamin-ud-Daula Asaf Khan joined to the court with two Tirhut (in North Bihar) Brahmans. Ten newly composed Hindi and Sanskrit stanzans recited before them only once by ten different poets in succession could be exactly repeated by each of these two Brahmans in the same order, besides, they could compose extempore ten stanzas more on those very topic and in the self same metres and rhymes so as to constitute replies thereto. When his Majesty (Shahjahan) made them undergo the test more than once and found their claims to be justified by facts, he bestowed them each a robe of honour (*Khilat*) and a cash reward of rupees one thousand and permitted them to leave for their home[1]". It is also said that they were also granted two villages in *sarkar* Tirhut to which they belonged[2]. Thus it is evident from the above reference that the two sons of Mithila gave a display of their remarkable intellectual power in the imperial court of Shahjahan. Evidently under these circumstances education and learning must have received considerable impetus at the hand of these great scholars of Mithila. Mithila in 16th, 17th and even in 18th centuries emerged as the acknowledged head, both secular and religious, of all the regions to the north of the river Ganges. They encouraged Sanskrit learning and attracted sanskritists from different parts of India[3].

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1. Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, pp.268-69.
2. S.H. Askari, 'Bihar in the Time of Shahjahan', *I.H.C.* 1944, p.351 and f.n. 13.
3. K.P. Jayaswal, *Introduction to the Catalogue of Mithila Manuscripts*, Vol.I, p.3.
   Still there is a Sanskrit University at *Darbhanga* which is very famous for its Sanskrit learning and scholarship throughout the country.

Literature :

The mediaeval period witnessed a remarkable development of vernacular literatures in Bihar as in other parts of India, due chiefly to two factors, viz; the impetus supplied by the religious reformation movements and patronage of rulers and nobles.

Persian :

As far as Persian is concerned, it was the only medium of religious teaching and the vehicle of the ecstatic expression of the sufis. It was also recognised as the language of the revenue department. As Patna was the seat of Mughal government in Bihar, there came a number of Persian governors followed by a train of artisans, traders, poets and literary persons who settled in different areas of the province. Patna was the meeting place of scholars and poets. Thus, Persian became the recognised language of the court and of administration. Some of the governors and *diwans* were themselves men of great learning and ardent lovers of arts and poetry. Mirza Muiz 'Fitrat' the provincial *diwan* in the year 1690 was a great lover of Persian poetry, and his collection of poems entitled *diwan-i-Fitrat*', still stands a testimony of his poetic and literary attainments. He exerted a profound influence on the themes and styles of the contemporary Persian poetry.

It was largely due to the patronage of the state and wealthy persons that a large numbers of poets and writers came to Patna, Ahmad Yar Khan 'Mujid' of Samarqand, Mirza Arif Beg of Badakhshan, Kalim Arif, Maulana Nadim Gilani, Maulana Mohammad Hussain Qazwini, Sirti, Maulana Mohammad Muiz-ud-din Yazdi, Mirza Qasim Imami, Mir Yahya Qasim, and Mir Mohammad Hashim

'Mazmoon[1]' were some of the famous poets and scholars who came from outside the country and stayed in Patna.

Among the local poets of Bihar, the name of Mirza Abdul Qadir poetically surnamed 'Bedil'[2], was a reputed poet of Aurangzeb's reign, and is said to have composed more than 90,000 verses. He wrote all forms of poetry except *Qasida*. He never praised anybody and led an independent life. In the *Ghazal* form of poetry he was without a rival in his age. He was equally well versed in theology; mathematics, philosophy, medicine, astronomy geomancy, history and music and learnt the whole of the Mahabharata by heart. He introduced new modes in poetry and laid the foundation of a school of poetry in Azimabad. Although he wrote in Persian, Bedil championed the cause of Urdu literature. In writing Urdu poetry he followed styles of *Urfi* and *Nazeeri*, the poet laureates of Persian, and immensely influenced his contemporaries by his superb imagination, vision and new conventions. His expression was complex and hard, beyond the comprehension of the layman. Even Ghalib was impressed by the subtlety and complexity of his ideas and diction. He remarked:-

'It is hard to write Urdu poetry in the way and style of Bedil.'

He was perhaps the first to introduce philosophical themes in his poetical compositions. He was a mystic poet and introduced spiritual and realistic themes in

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1. S. Najib Ashraf Nadvi, 'Azimabad-men Irani Shora ki amad; *Nadim*, a Urdu Journal, Gaya Bihar, Number, 1933, pp.41-46.
2. *Tarikh-Shora-i-Bihar*, pp.6-6. He was born at Azimabad in 1644 and died in Delhi in 1720. Cf. S. Akhtar Ahmad Aurainvi, op.cit., p.196-97.

his poetry[1].

His works consists of *chahar ana-sir*, a collection of essays and poems; *Muhit-i-Azam*, a masnavi written on the lines of *Zuhuri's Saqinama*, Irfan, another metaphysical *masnavi, Tur-i-Maarfat* dealing with natural occurences, a *masnavi Tilism-i-Hairat* including *Raqqat* and *Nukat-i-Bedil*. *Chahar Anasir* contains references about Mehsi in *sarkar* Champaran and other places of North Bihar[2].

Besides, Bedil Azimabadi there were some other persian poets as well such as, Shah Abul Hasan 'Fard', Shah Ali Habib 'Nasr', Shah Ulfat Husain 'Faryad' etc. one Maulana Mohammad Sayeed or Saad Quraishi of Azimabad, a prolific writer who composed two *diwans*, one of which bears the name Saad and the other Ghalib.

There were also some well known Hindu poets of Persian, some belonged to the later Mughal period the most famous being Raja Ram Narayan 'Mauzoon' and his brother Raja Dhiraj Narayan both pupils of the famous Persian poet Shaikh Ali Hazeen. It is interesting to find a reference to Raja Ram Narayan of Patna being called upon by Nawab Sirajud Daula to supply him with a particular astrolabe. Besides them, other scholars and poets of Bihar are also referred like Raja Kiratchand (*Diwan* of Haibat Jang and Nawab Alivardi Khan), Balmukund Mashood, Maharaja Kalyan Sing, Lakshmi Narayan of Hajipur (a contemporary of Aurangzeb), Ram Prasad of Patna, *Diwan* Kanjhi and Maharaja Mitrajit Singh of Tikari who was a learned scholar

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1. Abdul Moghni, 'Bedil's Achievement and influence', *Aligarh Magazine*, 1983, pp.135-36.
2. *Chahar Anasir*, Patna Ms fol.17a.

of Persian and Arabic and wrote a pamphlet on agriculture in Gaya district[1]. Prince Dara Shikoh, obtained the services of learned Hindus from different parts of India including Bihar and Pandits from Varanasi to translate the *Vedas, Upanishads, Bhagavadgita, Jog Vasishtha* and *Ramayana.* Besides these Bhavadeva Misra of Patna wrote several works on *Yoga, Vedanta* and devotion during the same period. Apart from books on the humanities, several authors, especially from Mithila, wrote on astronomy, astrology, mathematics, medicines and other sciences[2]. Lala Ujagar Chand 'Ulfat' has left two important collections of letters entitled *Insha-i-Gharib* and *Insha-i-Ulfat.* Various *tazkirahs* of 'Urdu poets were also written in Persian, like *Tazkira-i-Gulzar* Ibrahim, *Tazkira-i-Ibrati, Meraj-ul-Kheyal* and *Reyaz-ul-afkar,* and *Tazkira-i-safinah-i-Khushgo* by Bindraban Das Khushgo etc[3]. Thus, the contribution of Bihar to the advancement of Persian literature and poetry was immense.

Urdu :

Various political and cultural factors helped the growth and popularity of Urdu in Bihar during the period under review. Unlike the Deccan, Bihar continued without any break to be under the social and political influence of central government of Delhi. It became the homeland of *Sufis* who felt at home in the atmosphere rich in

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1. RR. Diwakar, *Bihar Through the Ages*, pp.541-42. Maharaja Kalyan Singh 'Ashique' (1751-1824) was the son of Maharaja Shitals Rai (*Nazim* of Bihar during the post *diwani* period). The family patronized learning and literature. A long urdu masnavi written by the said Maharaja has been discovered. Ibid; p.560.
2. Abdul Malik Arvi, 'Bihar School ki Urdu Shaeri aur Uski takhliq ke asbab, *Nigar*, Lucknow January, 1935, pp.60-65. S.A.A. Aurainvi, op.cit., p.112.
3. Ibid; p.p .544-45.

mystic traditions. Both the Hindus and Muslims of Bihar developed, as already noted, a good taste for Persian. All these factors contributed to the formation, development and spread of the Urdu language and literature.

Bedil Azimabadi[1] was the founder of the Urdu poetry in Bihar. He was the fore-runner of the coming generations of Urdu poets and writers. He has been rightly called as 'literary crown' on account of his learning and scholarship.

Besides him, there were other Urdu poets and writers as well.

Syed Emad-ud-din Emad of Phulwari Sharif (1654-1712), was a great mystic poet of his time. His poetry is the best examples of *Khari-boli* in Bihar. In one of his couplet he says,

"Jab beech Chaman ke fasle bahar ave hai

Tab joshe junoon talwa mera khujawe hai"[2]

Mulla Mohammad Alim "Tahqiq" Azimabadi (1660-1748) was a contemporary poet of Bedil. He left a *diwan* of Persian which recalls his memory. He was a great scholar, logician, musician and singer. He enrolled himself as a desciple of Mirza Muiz 'Fitrat'[3].

Qazi Abdul Ghafar poetically name "Ghafa", was a resident of village

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1. *Tarikh Shora-i-Bihar,* pp.6-7.
   S.M. Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, (1000-1800 A.D.) Delhi, 1937, p.225.
   See also, Khuda Bakhsh, Urdu Literature, *Muslim University Journal,* July,1931, pp.15-17, Aligarh.
2. S.A.A. Aurainvi, *Bihar mein Urud Zabano Adab ka Irtaqa*, pp.203-204.
3. *Tarikh-Shora-i-Bihar*, p.9.
   S.A.A. Aurainvi, op.cit., pp.204-206.

Rahoi (Patna district). He left one of his work, *Jawahar-al-Asrar*, a book on mysticism in verse written in 1704 A.D. He was a reputed Urdu poet of Bihar in the times of Aurangzeb. His poems gives an idea that he was much influenced by mystic and Bhakti movements[1]. Ghulam Naqshband "Sajjad" (1703-1755) of Phulwari Sharif was an eminent poet of both Urdu and Persian[2].

Hazrat Bibi Walia of Phulwari Sharif (died 1726) was a great mystic-poetess of Bihar. She was at home in Arabic, Persian and Urdu. A few writings of her is still preserced at *Khanqah* Phulwari Sharif[3].

Hazrat Shah Ayetullah 'Jauhari' and 'Mazaqi' of Phulwari Sharif (1714-95) is an outstanding urdu poet of the eighteenth century. He composed *ghazals*, *marsias* and *masnavis*. He says :

'Piya bin hai hamari saje suni,

Huay rah rah mujhe dukh dardduni.

'Piya ke wesl ki hun aisi bhooki,

ke jun sarak ke pechun suraj mookhi'.

(My bed is lonely without my beloved. My pangs and pains increase recurringly. I am hungry for the embrace of my beloved, as the sunflower is yearning for the sun).

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1. Ibid., pp.207-210.
2. *Tarikh Shora-i-Bihar*, p.22.
3. Syed Bahauddin Ahmad, Shaarat-i-Bihar', *Nadim*, Gaya, 1935, p.16.

Maharaja Ram Narayan 'Mauzoon' (died 1763) composed poetry both in Urdu and Persian. Shaikh Muhammad Raushan 'Joshish' Azimabadi (1737-1801) was one of the notable poets of the age. Qazi Abdul Wadood has very ably edited *Diwan-i-Joshish* Ghulam Ali 'Rasikh' Azimabadi (1748-1825) is rightly called 'Meer of Bihar'. His poetry was recognised by the great master Meer Dehlavi. He wrote ghazals and masnavis. He tells:

Marna us bin ke jeete rahna,

Rasikh kaho kya qarar paya?

(To be or not to be without the beloved, tell me Rasikh, What has been decided?)

The tradition of Urdu has a continuity in Bihar. Both poetry and prose continued to be written even during the British rule, and much more so after Indian Independence.

Maithili and Sanskrit :

Mithila is the only part of this country where Sanskrit and Maithili learning continued till the last quarter of 19th century[1]. It is already noted that Mithila was an important seat of learning and it produced a number of erudite and versatile scholars which became famous in the literary world i.e. Jagdhara, Vidyapati, Sankara, Vachaspati Mishra and Pakshadher Misra etc. For example, Jagdhara wrote commentaries on a variety of texts, the Gita, Devi-mahatmya, Meghaduta,

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1. S.C. Benerjee, *Contributions of Bihar to Sanskrit Literature*, Patna, 1973, pp.72-76.

Gita-Govinda, Malati-Madhava and the like. The most prominent of them was Vidyapati, who enriched Maithili and Sanskrit language with his unparalleled lyrical poetry and placed it at an exalted position during the fifteenth century. He has written on almost all branches of knowledge, especially his drama entitled Manimanjarinatika and Goraksavijya is very famous. As a sound scholar of Sanskrit, he seems to have maintained the decorum of original standard in his dramas. His Padavali (Mithili songs) has inspired for generations the later 16-17th centuries Vaishnava writers of Bengal. It may be pointed out here that it is very important from the historical point of view as well. It not only refers to Kings and queens of Mithila but also to a number of social and economic problems of the region[1]. Govinda Jha, the author of *Nalacharitanataka, Krishna Charita*, and *Govindatativa mimamsa*, was very famous scholar of Mithila during the 17th century. These dramas were written in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Maithili. This is one more book of importance in the field of dramaturgy that is *Srihastamuktavali* of Subhankar Thakur, a commentary on it was written in 1675 A.D.[2]

Mahesh Thakur, a Brahaman Pandit was a great scholar of Mithila who wrote a book named *Sarvadesa-Vrittanata-Sangrah,* which deals the history of Akbar's reign in Sanskrit[3]. Besides him there was one Jagannath Mishra who wrote in 1598 shows some unconventional originality by producing Sabhatarangini, a treatise on

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1. R.K. Chaudhary, *The Mithila in the Age of Vidyapati*, Varanasi, 1976, p.10.
2. R.K. Chaudhry, 'Sanskrit Drama in Mithila' (An Historical Survey) *Journal of Bihar Research Society,* 1957, pp.34-60.
3. A.L. Srivastava, *Mediaeval Indian Culture*, Agra, 1964, p.131. Now its manuscript copy is preserced in India Office Library, London.

polite conversation. It covers sixtynine folios and may be said to give the reader an idea about 'parliamentary language' of those days. Regarding the Vedas, Shatrughna Sharma, a Maithili Brahman at the court of Kangra, wrote Mantrarthadipika which explains vedic mantras in connection with sandhya, sraddha and so on[1].

Mahinath Thakur, the heir apparent of Darbhanga Raj and a contemporary of Aurangzeb has a patron of Mithili literature, which received greater encouragement in the time of his successor and younger brother, Narpati Thakur. In their court there lived a famous poet Lochan who distinguished himself for writing Raj Tarangini and Naisadh Kavya[2].

Hindi :

In Bihar the progress of Hindi literature took place through the gradual progress of Hindi poetry. Till the seventeenth and eighteenth century Hindi poetry remained religious and philosophic in content and mystic in tone. The main trends of Hindi poetry, as examplified in the literature of Bihar are discussed here in brief.

Upto about 1656 A.D. Dharnidas of the village Manjhi (*sarkar* Saran) was the earliest of the Nirguna saint poets of Bihar. He was one of the important saint - poets in Hindi taken as a whole. He is ascribed to have written *Premprakasa, Sabdaprakasa, Ratnavali* and *Stayaprakasa*, but unfortunately only the first in manuscript form have been yet traced. Dharhidas was the founder of the Dharanisvari

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1. *Bihar Through the Ages*, pp.547-48.
2. J.S. Jha, *History of Darbhanga Raj*, Patna, 1966, p.20.

sect which was even today a large number of followers in Saran and Ballia districts.

Dariya Saheb, who was born of a Muslim parents in 1674 in a village Dharkhanda of Shahabad district and died in 1780, was also a famous Hindi saint poet of Bihar[1]. About twenty books have been attributed to him, among them Jnanadipak, Jnana Sarvodaya, Daria Sagar and Jnana ratna, a long book of poems are mention worthy. The writings of these saint-poets display that they were much influenced by the writings of Kabir. Bihar also produced a number of poets who wrote Krishna-poetry and Rama-poetry. Haldhar Das, popularly known as Sur Haldhar, who sang the deeds of Lord Krishna an composed an extensive narrative poem *Sudama-Charita* in 1658 A.D.[2]

An eighteenth century work entitled '*Vidyadhar*' a Hindi *Prem Katha* written by Shaikh Kifayatullah a sufi poet of Purnea (Bihar) has been noticed[3]. It was written in *Kaithi* script in 1136 Bengali era (1729). The work belongs, essentially, to the *Prem Margi* genre of Hindi literature and partakes some of its features. Structurally, the verses are arranged in seven *chaupai* and one *doha* as we find in Jaisi's *Padmavati*. Shaikh Kifayatullah, the poet belonged to Shaikh Siddique group of Muslims, who later on were known as *Kulahiyas*, a corruption of *Ahl-i-Kulah* (cap-wearers). They were so called because they wore a distinctive two-fold cap[4]. It is interesting to note

1. Francis Buchanan, *An Account of the Shahabad district in 1812-13*, Patna, 1934, pp.220-23.
2. K.K. Datta, *The Life and Thought of the People of Bihar*, Calcutta, 1967, p.19. *Eastern India*, Vol.I, p.483.
3. For details see, *Comprehensive History of Bihar* Vol.II, Appendix III, pp.568-584. A microfilm copy of *Vidyadhar* is preserved in Khuda Bakash Oriental Public Library, Patna.
4. *Bengal District Gazetteers*, Purnea, Calcutta, 1911, p.62, District Gazetteers, Purnea, 1963, p.149.

that this work was being used as *Fal Nama* (book of astrological prediction) and also as a medical prescription book by the poet's contemporaries and his descendents. The work mentions the names of some rivers, ponds and places of historical importance, such as, the river *Kajar* and *Kankai*. It throws some light on local history, *zamindars* and officials, composition of castes and social groups, their dresses, ornaments, musical instruments, cosmetics, and also on war technique and various weapons of war practised at that time. More importantly, the work reflects elements of a composite culture. *Vidyadher's* tutors, for example, included both a *Maulana* and a *Pandit*. The work gives the message of love, toleration and brotherhood among all creatures of God in a language of the local people and preached, among other things. Unity and harmony between different socio-religious groups.

After examining the work in detail; it is evident that this manuscript '*Vidyadhar*' is of great historical and linguistic importance. It throws light on some aspects of the regional, social and cultural history. But more important than this is its linguistic value. It is the only known Hindi specimen of a *Premkatha* composed in Bihar by a *Sufi* saint. it shows the continuation of an important genre of Hindi literature. Shaikh Kifayatullah symbolises the continuation of a literary tradition represented by such great medieval saints and Savants as Mulla Daud and Jaisi. The work is one more example of the great synthesising role played by the sufis in medieval India. That this great work was being done in a region (Purnea) of the state about which we have comparatively less historical information is strikingly brought out by this *Prem Katha* and lends to it a greater significance.

7. Art and Architecture :

In the pre-Mughal period the most important building was the tomb of Sher Shah Sur in Sasaram, in the Shahabad district, "which is one of the best designed and most beautiful buildings in India, unequalled among the earlier buildings in the northern provinces for grandeur and dignity." It stands as a testimony to a remarkably good taste and a natural talent for architecture which Sher Shah possessed. Though the monument differed in style and architectural design, it bore unmistakable resemblance to the main buildings erected in northern India during the Sultanate period. Shershah's mausoleum, constructed on a high plinth in the midst of a lake is a unrivalled both from the point of view of design and dignity in Bihar. It presents a pleasant combination of Hindu and Muslim architectural ideas[1].

Soon after the establishment of Mughal authority in Bihar, the architectural style lost its all India character and was rapidly developed on provincial level, adapting to local needs and requirements. The buildings erected during the early period of the Mughal rule in Bihar were modelled on the lines similar to these existing in the preceding age. A few buildings, constructed within the first few years of Akbar's occupation of Bihar in 1575-76 resemble more to the earlier styles than to those introduced by the Emperor in Agra. The mosque and tomb of Habash Khan and tomb of Saqi Sultan, both built in 1578 at Rohtasgarh, may be cited as an illustration[2],

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1. Q. Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar (A.H. 640-1200)*, Patna, 1973, pp.141-43. Z.A. Desai, 'The Islamic Architecture of Bihar' *Islamic Culture*, 1972, pp.23-28.
2. Q. Ahmad, op.cit. pp.163-67.

nearly two decades later, a palace-complex was constructed at Rohtasgarh by Raja Man Singh on the model of the palace-capital at Fatehpur Sikri, including principal entrance, Hathia pole (Elephant Gate) *Baradari* or 'Offices', *Darbar* (Audience Hall) *Shish-Mahal* and *Phul Mahal* or palace of flowers. Raja Man Singh is also said to have built a small temple known as Harish Chandra Mandir in the campus of Rohtas fort. He erected these magnificent palaces during the period of his governorship in Bihar, 1587-99[1].

The next outstanding building of the robust early Mughal style of Akbar's monuments and the first extant monument of the Mughal period in the province is the mâusoleum of Makhdum Aba Yazid, popularly known as Shah Daulat (better known as the *Chhoti Dargah*) at Maner. It is raised on a platform with a lofty gateway, a *baradari* and a mosque inside the compound. Its most striking feature is the elegance of design and neatness of execution. It is entirely built of chunar sandstone[2]. There is

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1. *Masir-ul-Umara*, Vol.II, pp.48-53.
   Q.Ahmad, op.cit., pp.175-76. An inscription has been discovered on the south face of the inner gate way in the courtyard of the palace of Raja Man Singh in the Rohtas Fort. Its text consists of a line of Persian prose and two couplets. It records the construction of a strong gateway by Raja Man Singh during the reign of Akbar in 1005 A.H. (1596-97) (ibid).
   See also, R.N. Prasad, *Raja Man Singh of Amber*, Calcutta, 1966, pp.17-69 *District Gazetteer, Shahabad*, pp.152-53.
2. Makhdum Shah Daulat was eighth in descent from Shaikh Yahya Maneri and was a contemporary of both Akbar and Jahangir. He died in 1609 but the date of its construction has been fixed in 1616 by a discovery of a persian inscription dated 1025 A.H. (1616 A.D.) during the reign of Jahangir. Q. Ahmad, op.cit., pp.206-7. Now-a-days it is a protected monument and a well known and well used picnic resort.
   See *District Gazetteer*, Patna, p.215.

a description of a grand massive and lofty jami-mosque, a palace, a bridge, a *sarai* and a bath at village Khurramabad, 12 miles west of Sasaram (district Shahabad). These buildings were constructed between the years 1021-23 A.D. (1612-15) during the reign of Jahangir as recorded in the inscription[1].

An inscription dated 1038 (1628-29) from the western wall of the Idgah, situated in Patna city reveals the construction of an Idgah by Saif Khan during the reign of Shahjahan in 1038 (1628-29). It is built on a raised rectangular platform paved with square stone blocks. Its western wall flanked by two minarets is still intact[2]. The construction of a three-domed mosque at Kharagpur (Monghyr) by Raja Bahroze in 1057 (1656-57) is noteworthy here[3]. This mosque is built on a raised platform with a flight of eight steps made of black stone, leading into its open courtyard.

The inscriptions belonging to the period of Aurangzeb reveal that architectural activities continued and various mosques and tombs were built by governers and nobles. It was during his reign that an Ashoka's pillar, locally known as *laur Baba* or *Bhimsen ki Lathi* at the village Lauriya Nandangarh (15 miles north-west of Bettiah) was discovered, having an inscription bearing the *kalima*, and

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1. Q. Ahmad, op.cit., pp.208-10.
   See also *Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol.II, pp.129, 172.
2. Q. Ahmad, op.cit., pp.226-27. Saif Khan seems to have been much interested in architecture, so the author of *Maasir-ul-Umara* writes that he built grand houses in Patna' (*Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.II, pp.689-92).
3. Q. Ahmad, op.cit., pp.252-53 Raja Bahroze, the builder of the mosque under reference, was the son and successor of Raj Roz Afzun. He performed some distinguished service for the cause of the Mughal Empire especially in the conquest of palamau in 1660 and rose to greater heights. See *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.II, pp.610-11.

the name of the reigning emperor, "Muhy-ud-din Muhammad Aurangzeb Badshah Alamgir Ghazi, year 1071 (1660 A.D.)[1].

Mosques:

An inscription dated 1071 (1660-61) from village Siris (9 miles from Aurangabad town) records the construction of a Jami Masjid by Shamsuddin Muhammad during the *subahdari* of Kamgaar Khan in the reign of Aurangzeb. This is a three domed mosque, built on a raised platform bounded by a low masonry wall and a well. The text consists of four lines of Persian prose. Its translation is as follows:-

1. "During the reign of the ruler of the world, the exalted sultan, the great Emperor Abul Muzaffar Shihab.
2. Ud-Din Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur Alamgir Badshah, Ghazi and the governorship of Nawab.
3. Kamgar Khan, Shamsuddin Muhammad constructed a Jami Masjid, by God's grace and according to his heart's desire in the year 1071.

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1. M.H. Kuraishi, *List of Ancient Monuments Protected under Act VII of 1904 in the Province of Bihar and Orissa*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol.LI, Calcutta, 1931, p.10.
Since it is a visiting place, so some of whom have been inscribed their names on the pillar. It appears that this aforesaid inscription probably have been inscribed by some zealous follower of Mir Jumla's army which was then on its way back from Bengal after the defeat of Prince Shuja in 1659-60 i.e. 3rd regnal year of Aurangzeb. This inscription is on the south face of the pillar.
L.S.S.O.' Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers*, Champaran, Vol.10, Calcutta, 1907, pp.161-62.

4. One thousand seventy one (1660-61) (The Scribe) the weak among the slaves of Allah, Syed Afzal Bukhari[1]."

A beautiful mosque, situated in mohallah Dhawalpura, Patna city, is famous for its unique architectural features. Just above the central arch, on the parapet, there is a stone slab of the shape of two and a half turrets (Kungra) and hence it is called dhai-kungra ki masjid. Its inscription reads as follows:-

"Mirza Noori built such a mosque that its qualities become famous throughout the world. The pious are happy with its chronogram, 'when a house was built for God:

Year one thousand and seventy two (1661-62)"[2].

There is a *Rauza* mosque situated in *mohallah* Maharajghat (Patna city). The mosque is so called because it stands in a compound containing the tombs (*rauzas*) of two saints, named Taj and Mangan[3]. An inscription has been discovered which is

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1. Q.Ahmad, op.cit., pp.265-66.
   Cf. Report, Regional Record Survey Committee, Bihar, 1958-59, p.20 (henceforth R.R.S.C.). According to Abul Fazl Sirisi (Sarsi) was a *pargana* in the *sarkar* Rohtas and yeilded a revenue of 2,769,446 *dams*. (*Ain-i-Akbari*) Vol.II, p.168. There is no information yet about Nawab Kamgar Khan, or the builder and scribe.
2. Q. Ahmad, op. cit., p.267. Shad Azimabadi, the famous poet of Patna, in his historical work, *Naqish-i-Paidar* also mentions this mosque, No information could be obtained yet about the builder, Mirza Noori (Ali Muhammad Shad, *Naqsh-i-Paidar*, Patna, p.192).
3. *The Ganj-i-Arshadi*, a Ms copy, Phulwari Sharif *Khanqah*. It is a 17th century work, contains a brief reference to Makhdum Shaikh Taj and Shaikh Mangan to the effect that they were the *Khalifas* of Shaikh Abul Fath Shuttari (a 15th-16th century saint) and that they lay buried at Patna.

fixed over the central arched entrance in the facade of the aforesaid mosque. It consists of two Persian verses recording the construction of a mosque by Aurangzeb under the supervision of Jalil-ul-Qadar in 1078 (1667-68), (see appendix F-ii). In the centre, within wavy borders, the name of the emperor, sultan Aurangzeb, Alamgir is mentioned as the builder. The translation of the text reads as follows :-

Allah, Muhammad

1. "The mosque was constructed, for the delight of God,
by the victorious Emperor, as the token of faith.

2. Its chronogram was composed by wisdom, with a thousand supplications, "(He) constructed a Kaaba in the world for the fulfilment of desires."

Founder of (this

Home of God,

Sultan Aurangzeb

Alamgir

Under the supervision of

Jalilul Qadr

The chronogram yields 1078 (1667-68)[1].

The main distinguishing feature of this mosque is that it was built, according to the inscription, expressly by the orders of Aurangzeb.

Another mosque has been discovered by Qeyamuddin Ahmad at village

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1. Q. Ahmad, op.cit., pp.273-75.

Saraiyya[1], district Shahabad, containing an inscription dated 1088 (1677-78), which informs that the mosque was constructed by Kulha and Hetam in the reign of Aurangzeb. The translation of the text runs as follows:-

> "In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful when Kulha and Hetam, by divine inspiration and in obedience to (the advice of) friends and companions.
>
> In the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb, got this mosque built by the side of the road,
>
> The date of (the construction of) the mosque was aptly whispered in my ear by the angel, it came (was completed) like the old House (the *Kaaba*)[2]."
>
> year 1088

A mosque having an inscription dated 1100 (1688-89) has been discovered which situated on the main road, just opposit the Patna city post office. Its text consist of three Persian verses, recording the construction of a mosque by Khwaja Amber, Nazir of Shaista Khan during the reign of Aurangzeb (see Appendix F-iii). The translation of the text is as follows:-

1. "In the reign of the Emperor, the defender of the faith, Shah Alamgir the victorious and the generous.

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1. Saraiyya, also known as Aurangabad, is an old, historically important village. According to local tradition it was founded during the reign of Shershah. See Francis Buchanan, *An account of Shahabad district*, p.105.
2. Q. Ahmad, op.cit., p.281.
   Cf. Annual Report, *R.R.S.C.* Bihar, 1959-60, pp.19-21.

2. Khawaja Amber, the Nazir of Shaista Khan, built a new this mosque, like the Holy House (Kaaba).

3. Mazharul Haque wrote the year of its construction (by the words) 'The Mine of God's grace'".

1100 (1688-89)

In the same mosque, inside the prayer-hall, another inscription consists three lines of Arabic, the *Kalama*, a Quranic verse and the words Allah, Mohammad alongwith the names of the first four *Khalifas*. In the bottom left side is the date in figures. The text has been translated as follows:

There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is His Prophet.

And verily, the mosques are for Allah, therefore, do not call (for help) any one other than Allah.

Allah, Muhammad, Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman, Ali[1]

1100

An inscription dated 1103 (1691-92) reveals of the construction and renovation of a Jami Mosque at Maner by one Ibrahim Khan. It appears that the mosque was originally built by Abdul Shakur. The translation of the text reads as follows:-

"In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate."

1. Offer thanks to God, whose name is beyond the purview of How and Why, the (recitation of) whose praise gladdens the heart and sweetens and mouth.

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1. Q. Ahmad, op.cit., p.292-94.

2. Say that Maulvi Abdul Shakur, who was among those nearest to God, a pioneer of the Faith and an Imam of the path of Mysticism,

3. The mosque of that *maulvi* had fallen down and on its old site Ibrahim arranged for the construction of a new one.

4. He (Ibrahim Khan) was of the line of Ali, a Quraish (son) of *Khan-i-Khanan*, son of Kabir, (the town of) Hisar was glorified in the world by his birth.

5. During the reign of Emperor Alamgir, victorious, protector of the Faith, the just, conqueror of realms, the lord of Rum and Syria.

6. He (Ibrahim Khan) with sincerity and faith (in God), laid the foundation of an elegant mosque for prostration to the Holy God.

7. When (the mosque) was completed, I asked for its date from (my) heart, (It) said, regardig its date, "the mosque of *Kaaba* has been built".

Year One thousand and one hundred three, 1103 (1691-92)[1]

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1. Q. Ahmad, op.cit., pp.294-96. The builder of the mosque was Ibrahim, later entitled Shamsher Khan, who was the nephew of Daud Khan Quraishi, and who was the *faujdar* of Shahabad at that time. *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainiya*, the family history of Ujjainiya Rajputs in Bihar, gives the text of sanad granted by Kunwar Dhir to a Brahman which is dated 13 Sharavan, 1748 Vikram era (28 July 1691) which is just a few months before the date of the inscription and it bears the seal of Buzurg Ummed Khan, the governor of the province of Bihar and of Ibrahim Khan, the *faujdar* of Shahabad. See Vinayak Prasad, *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainiya*, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1898, Vol.III, pp.49-51.

A mosque built by a family member of Raja of Kharagpur which is discovered at *mohallah* Afzun Nagar in Kharagpur (Monghyr) is note worthy here. An inscription dated A.H. 1107 (1695-96) which comprises five persian verses recording the construction of this mosque, in the 40th *Julus* of Aurangzeb, in the domain of Raja Tahawwar Asad. The translation of the text is as follows:-

1. When a mosque was founded in Afzun Nagar, there is the confirmation of (the work of) God regarding the piety of the devoteers.

2. What should I speak about the *Hijri* date of (its construction) it is evident from three letters, *Ze* (7) *qaf* (100) *Ghain* (1000) = 1107 (1695-96).

3. In the 40th *Julus* of Aurangzeb this exquisite (mosque) was completed.

4. Since (it was constructed) in the domain of Raja Tahawwar Asad, accept, O True Guide (God) this place of prostration from me.

5. The son of Khan-i-Khanan (and Zubdun Nisa) got this mosque constructed in the name of a lady (probably his wife)[1].

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1. Q. Ahmad, op.cit., pp.299-300 Raja Tahawwur Asad, the third Raja of Kharagpur was the eldest son of Raja Bahroze, the latter also built mosque during the reign of Shahjahan. Raja Tahawwur Asad participated,alongwith his father, in the Palamau expedition, and is particularly mentioned among the several *mansabdars* who were ordered to make the final assault on the fort of palamau. See *Alamgirnama*, p.658.
Cf. H. Blochmann, Notes from Muhammadan Histories on Chotta Nagpur, Pachet and palamau, *J.A.S.B.*, Vol.XI, 1871, pp.126-28.

There has been noticed one more mosque within the campus of old fort at palamau, probably built by Daud Khan Quraishi the conqueror of Palamau in A.H. 1072 (1662-63) as a souvenir of his conquest. It is a ruinous brick mosque of 3 domes with octagonal towers at the ends of the back or west wall. The prayer chamber measures internally 49 ft. 6 inches by 12 ft. 3 inches. The mosque is the only brick building on the site. Its walls are 6 ft. thick and a course of stone slabs is built into them at the floor level, over the central arch of the mosque and also over the prayer-niche were formerly two stone slabs probably bearing inscriptions, which have long since been removed[1].

Coming to later Mughal period, an inscription was explored; which was found fixed in the facade of a mosque situated in *mohallah* Naya Qila in Siwan town. The text containing the *Bismillah*, the *Kalma* and two Persian verses, recording the construction of a mosque by Ali Bakash in 1165 A.H. (1751-52)[2]. Ali Bakhsh, entitled Raja, was a contemporary of Shah Alam II and he was related to the Barharia Raj family of the Saran district. He was killed in a battle fighting in the side of Prince Ali Gauhar (Shah Alam II) against Raja Ram Narayan, and was buried in a grave just by the side of the main gate of the mosque built by him. According to tradition only a portion of his body, recovered from the battlefield, lies buried at the spot. The town of Siwan is also called Aliganj, after him[3].

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1. M.H. Kuraishi, op.cit., pp.197-98.
   Cf. S.A. Rauf, Nawab Daud Khan Subahdar-i-Bihar' *Maarif* Azamgarh, October-November, 1937, pp.382-83.
2. For details see *Bihar Regional Records Survey Committee* 1960-61, pp.2-4.
3. Q. Ahmad, op.cit., pp.324-325.

Z.A. Desai is of the opinion that the building style (especially of the mosques) in Bihar monuments of these periods is curious but by no means unpleasant. He concludes that it is basically the style of the Mughal monuments of Bengal, with modifications in regards to some general features of size, treatment, etc[1].

Palace and Tombs

An interesting inscription dated 1085 (1674-75) reveals the construction of a beautiful palace by Raja Bahroze at Kharagpur which was built on the eve of Raja's marriage. It comprises three Persian verses.

Translation :-

1 On the occasion of (his marriage, Raja Bahroze constructed this palace which associated with pleasantness.

2. After him (his death) it is forbidden for anyone to live her (in the palace) except his pious children.

3. If anyone damages it, on him, too, let there be curses, cursesand curses (*talaq*)[2].

1085 *Hijri* (1674-75)

Tomb of Shamsher Khan Quraishi

The tomb of Shamsher Khan Quraishi governor of Bihar (1702-1703) at Shamshernagar (Gaya district) is by far one of the finest architectural monuments of

1. Z.A. Desai, op.cit., p.33.
2. Q. Ahmad, op.cit., pp.278-80

the early eighteenth century in Bihar (see Photo Appendix - Fi). Though, Shamsher Khan died in 1712 but it is generally believed that the tomb has been erected during his life time probably in the days of his governorship in Bihar.

The tomb stands on a large brick platform (plinth) 91'.6" square and 4'.9" high, in the centre of a spacious quadrangle enclosed by a ruinous wall with a plain door way in the middle of the west side. At the four corners of the terrace are octagonal towers about 8 ft. in diameter, now ruined and standing scarely a foot higher than the top of the terrace, which approached by a stair of four stone steps on the south side. The verandah is relieved by five semi-circular arches, three of which, rising from double-pillars with square bases, are placed in the centre and one each, of a little larger size, at the ends, and is surmounted by a battlemented parapet, marked by a small cupola carried on slender pillars at each corner. The tomb chamber is, on plan, a square of 9.2 m externally with a hexagonal minaret, topped by a domed six-pillared kiosk at each corner. The entire exterior of these domes is decorated with lotus petals. Above the parapet the building assumes the shape of an octagon. having perforated stone-screen arches as its sides and a slightly tapering minaret marking each angle. This octagon is again surmounted by similar drums supporting the larger hemispherical dome[1].

The whole structure is thus quite remarkable for the design and treatment as well as the fine blending of its different parts into a cohesive unit, resulting in an extremely impressive and picturesque monument. Some of its features that indicate

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1. M.H. Kuraishi, op.cit. pp.51-53.
   Z.A. Desai, op.cit., p.37.

some freshness of treatment are the shape of its arches, Cupola-topped minarets and the lotus-petalled exterior of their domes and curvilinear eaves above the perforated stone-screen arches of the upper story.

The grave of Nawab Shamsher Khan Quraishi occupies the central position under the dome and is distinguished by a raised *Qalamdan* on the top, and a small masonry lampstand resembling a Budhist votive stupa towards the head. To left or east of Shamsher Khan's grave is another containing the relics of his wife. To north-west of the tomb there were, it is said, a *baoli* (bath) and a *Sarai* (inn)[1].

During later Mughal period, interestingly two inscriptions found fixed at the head of two graves on a brick platform in village Kathkaulia, 4 miles east of Buxar town[2]. Shuja Quli Khan and Ghulam Qadir, two valiant and intrepid generals of Nawab Shujaud Daula of Awadh, who fell fighting in the historic battle of Buxar, lie buried under these graves. The tomb stone of Shuja Quli Khan consists of 6 lines of Arabic - Persian prose, recording his death in 1177 A.H. (1764). The battle of Buxar, one of the decisive battles of modern Indian history, settled the fate of not only Bengal and Bihar but, in the long run, of the whole country. These inscriptions are a reminder of that historic battle.

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1. Regional Record Survey Committee, Bihar, Annual Report, 1958-59, pp.20-21. Cf. *District Gazetteer*, Gaya, p.37.
2. For details see, Q. Ahmad, op.cit., pp.334-337.

CHAPTER - VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Since ancient days the region of Bihar occupies a crucial position in the annals of Indian History. Towards the beginning of 13th century, this region was annexed to the Delhi sultanate and continued to be ruled by different successive Turkish commanders with some interregnum when it was occupied by semi-independent rulers of Bengal including Sharqis of Jaunpur. However, during the reign of Shershah, it constituted as a *vilayet* of his empire. When Akbar divided his empire into twelve *subahs* in 1580, Bihar was incorporated into his dominion, and came to be shaped as a separate independent administrative unit of the Mughal Empire. During the reign of Aurangzeb, Bihar remained intact and possessed the status of an independent administrative unit of the Mughal Empire. The Bihar governors then were in no way subordinate to the governors of Bengal. After Fakhrud Daula, its last independent governor, Bihar was, however, annexed to the Bengal province and it remained as an appanage of Bengal thereafter for about 180 years (1733 to 1912). The battle of Giria in 1740 made Alivardi Khan, the undisputed ruler of Bengal and Bihar, and was succeeded by Siraju'd Daula in 1756. The period between 1757 and 1765 was marked by the growth of the British influence in Bengal and Bihar also was thereby exposed to the same influence. The leading nobles and zamindars of Bihar were, however, not prepared to accept the new change; they opposed the English dominance over Bihar and fought single-handedly against the English before allowing Bihar to go the Bengal way. After becoming victorious at the Battle of Buxar, the Britishers received Diwani Grant over Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on 12 August 1765

from Shah Alam II, the unfortunate and titular Mughal Emperor of Delhi, the East India Company got a definite legal status in the system of the Mughal Empire. Even in post diwani period the people of Bihar demonstrated their resistance against the British imperialism. During the period when Raja Shitab Rai was the Naib Nazim of Bihar (1766-69), the *zamindars* of Seres and Kotamba (modern Aurangabad) and Maharaja Fatah Sahi of Husainpur (*sarkar* saran), fought against the Company's troops but they ultimately lost against heavy odds. However, the company lost a huge amount owing to these rebellions. Raja Shitab Rai had written to his wakil on 13 March 1768, that owing to the rebellion of Maharaja Fatah Sahi, 9 lakhs of revenue were lost to the English and confusion prevailed throught the Saran district.

A survey of the historical materials leads to certain striking conclusions. At that time *Subah* of Bihar occupied a very strategic position from the point of view of military importance and inland trade. Here is situated Garhi, the gateway to Bengal. The routes to Orissa passed through Chotianagpur plateau of Bihar. Communication with Bengal and Orissa was possible only through *Sarkar* Tirhut, and the roads to Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet. Kokrah lay in the south in subah Bihar, generally described as Jharkhand. The drainage system of the territory of Bihar was quite satisfactory. All its rivers were perennial which were source of irrigation. The important rivers were flowing in the region such as the Ganges, Son, Gandak, Burhi Gandak etc. These served as important trade routes as well. Important towns and manufacturing centres were situated on the banks of these rivers for instances, Patna, Hajipur, Chapra and Monghyr etc.

The imperial dictates had been effective in Bihar ever since the establishment of Mughal sway despite changes of *subahdars*, the policy of the Central

government had always attempted at centralisation. The conquest of Palamau in 1661 under the commandership of Daud Khan Quraishi, then governor of Bihar offered incentives towards the further expansion of the Mughal Empire during the reign of Aurangzeb. The support and cooperation provided by the local zamindars of Bihar in the said conquest was also remarkable one.

Throughout the reign of Aurangzeb and his successors most of the governors of Bihar were men of great repute and closely related to the court. But the fact remains that they hardly took any real interest in the general betterment and prosperity of its people and their life.

The basic administrative pattern had been laid down by Akbar which continued with some modifications during the reign of Aurangzeb and his successors.

The *zamindars* occupied a crucial position in rural society of Bihar. The main feature of the *zamindari* system of this region was that *zamindars* of particular castes had a large concentration in a prticular *sarkar*, for example, the Hindu chiefs and Raja viz. the Ujjainiya *zamindars* of Bhojpur and Rajas of Kharagpur and Gidhaur in *sarkar* Monghyr. Raja Sunder Singh of Tikari, Pahalwan Singh of Bhojpur, Bishun Singh of Siris and Kotamba and Rajas of Bettiah. No prominent Muslim *zamindar* excepting Namdar Khan (a powerful Mayi Chief of Narhat Samai in *Sarkar* Bihar) is said to have reported because the Rajput and Brahmin *zamindars* particularly, dominated the whole province. But they were so narrowly divided among themselves that they were incapable to resist the Mughal army and eventually, they became an ally of the Mughals and also paid tribute to the Central exchequer. But whenever they got an opportunity and a crisis developed in that part, they combined with the

rebels and challanged the Mughal Governors of Bihar and Nawabs of Bengal. Particularly, the Ujjainiya Rajas of Bhojpur and Shahabad perpetually defied the imperial authority and it was difficult to subjugate them wholly. This was rendered possible because of the hardy and turbulent character of its inhabitants. The topography of the region was of special advantage to them. The entry of the Ujjainiya Rajputs from Malwa into Bhojpur introduced a new element into the fighting class here and they posed themselves a rallying point against the Mughal rule in Bihar.

Economically, this region was quite prosperous. During the 17th century ad first half of the 18th century it was not only a centre of inter-provincial trade, but of international trade, Asiatic, African and European as well. It was connected with Agra, Allahabad and Banaras on the west by river and land-routes and so with the general system of overland traffic to central Asia, west Asia and Africa etc. It lay on the route from Agra to Chatgaon, the port of Bengal, and was connected with other ports of Bengal, like Tanda (i.e. Gaur), Hugli, Kasimbazar, etc. It also traded with Orissa, including Puri and Balasore. Thomas Bowrey did not exaggerate the commercial importance of Patna when he observed that this was "a country of very great traffic and commerce, and is really the great gate that opened into Bengal and Orissa and consequently into most parts of India[1]". In fact, Bihar during the seventeenth century exported many articles such as, saltpetre, cotton-cloth especially a superior grade of white cloth, silk manufactures etc. to neighbouring countries and European markets too. This period witnessed the real beginning of the large scale commerce with Europe which was a result of the English and Dutch enterprise. It was the lure

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1. Thomas Bowrey (1669-79) *A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. R.C. Temple London, 1905, pp.221-22.

of trade profits which attracted the English to Bihar in the middle of the 17th century -- the statistics of the period testify to the fact.

No metamorphosis, so far our sources inform us, operated upon the social structure of Mughal Bihar in the second half of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century. It had a traditional and rigid social structure centred on the caste-system. But at the same time, their cultural heritage continued without any interruption.

Thus, viewed as a whole, inspite of incessant political turmoils in the region the second half of seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century of Mughal rule in Bihar was a period of immense importance. There was peace and security in the province. The Dutch and English Commerce brought new wealth and resources to the country. But neither the well-organized government nor commercial prosperity could able to create favourable circumstances which might lead to the further stability and prosperity of the province.

APPENDIX - A

CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE GOVERNORS OF BIHAR UNDER THE MUGHALS, 1658 - 1765 A.D.

Sr. No.	Name	Rank (mansab) zat - sawar	Duration	Deputy Governor
1.	Daud Khan Quraishi	5000/4000 (2000 do aspa seh aspa)	1659-1664	-
2.	Lashkar Khan	3000/2500	1664-1668	-
3.	Ibrahim Khan	5000/5000	1668-1673	-
4.	Amir Khan Mir Miran	4000/3000	1673-1676	-
5.	Tarbiyat Khan Birlas	4000/4000	1676/1677	-
6.	Prince Mohammad Azam	--	1677-1678	-
7.	Saif Khan	2500/1500	1678/1680	-
8.	Safi Khan	300/1200	1680-1682	-
9.	Buzurg Ummed Khan	5500/1900	1682-1694	-
10.	Mukhtar Khan Qamruddin	2000/2000	1694-1694	-
11.	Fedai Khan	2500/2500 500 Unconditional	1695-1702	-
12.	Shamsher Khan Qureshi	--	1702-1703	-
13.	Prince Azim-ush-Shan	12000/8000 (2000 do aspa seh aspa)	1703-1707	Murshid Quli Khan, Sarbuland Khan
14.	Syed Husain Ali Khan (Defacto)	-	1708-1710	Syed Husain Ali

Sr. No.	Name	Rank (mansab) zat - sawar	Duration	Deputy Governor
15.	Farrukhsiyar	-	1710-1712	Imtiyaz Khan, Syed Husain (Khalis)
16.	Syed Husain Ali Khan	-	1712	Sarbuland Khan
17.	Ghairat Khan	-	1712-1715	Mir Jumla
18.	Mutamadul Mulk	-	1715-1716	Murshid Quli Khan
	Mir Jumla (in absentia)	-		Mohd. Qaim Bakhshi
19.	Sarbuland Khan	-	1716-1718	Asghar Khan
20.	Khan Zaman Khan	-	1718-8 June 1720	Asghar Khan
21.	Syed Nusrat Yar Khan Bareha	-	1720-1721	Abdul Fattah
22.	Mir Jafar Aqidat Khan	-	1721-1726	Mirza Ibrahim Nawab Marhammat Khan (died soon) His brothers Hadi Khan and Baqar Ali Khan governed as *naib*)
23.	Nawab Fakhru'd Daula	-	1727-33	-
24.	Prince Mirza Ahmad (future emperor Ahmed Shah)	- -	1733	Mohd. Shujauddin and Alivardi Khan
25.	Bihar as an appanage of Bengal (1733) Shujauddin Mohd. Khan of Bengal (in absentia)	-	1733-1739	Alivardi Khan
26.	Nawab Sarfaraz Khan Haidar Jang (in absentia)	-	1739-1740	Alivardi Khan
27.	Nawab Alivardi Khan (in absentia)	-	1740-1756	Haibat Jang (1740-48) Hidayat Ali Khan
28.	Nizamat of Bihar conferred on Siraju'd Daula	-	1756	Raja Janki Ram (1748-52)

Sr. No.	Name	Rank (mansab) zat - sawar	Duration	Deputy Governor
29.	Nawab Siraju'd Daula	-	1756-57	Raja Ram Narayan (1752-63)
30.	Nawab Mir Jafar (absentee) His son Miran served as Nazim of Bihar.	-	1757-1760	-
31.	Nawab Mir Qasim of Bengal	-	1760-64	-
32.	Mir Jafar	-	1764-65	Mir Mohd Kazim brother of Mir Jafar
33.	Najmu'd Daula	-	1765	Raja Shitab Rai Last *Naib Nazim* (1766).

APPENDIX - B

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF SOME DISTINGUISHED GOVERNORS OF BIHAR

1. Daud Khan Quraishi (1659 - 64)

Daud Khan Quraishi was the first *subahdar* of Bihar appointed by Aurangzeb after his accession to the throne in 1659[1]. He belonged to a Quraishi family of Hisar-i-Feroza where his ancestors, after migrating from Mecca had settled[2]. Daud Khan's father was Bhikhan Khan, who served under Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, a noble man in the reign of Jahangir[3]. Bhikan Khan was later on killed in the battle of Dholpur, fighting in the army of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi.

After the death of his father, Daud Khan entered the service of Prince Dara Shikoh, and gained his confidence by dint of his soldierly qualities. In the 30th regnal year of Shahjahan was appointed to the *faujdari* of Mathura, Mahaban, Jalesar and some other *mahals* that had been transferred to the jagir of Dara Shikoh on the death of Sadullah Khan. He was further given the charge of the imperial highway between Agra and Delhi, and a force of 2,000 horsemen was placed under his command. In

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1. *Alamgirnama*, p.286.
2. S.A. Rauf, A family Bayaz of Nawab Daud Khan *subahdar* Bihar, *Ma'arif*, Azamgarh, Vol.40, 1937, p.272. One of his ancestor Shaikh Mohammad Razi, an Abbasi Alavi Shaikh of Mecca, had migrated to Kabul in 1523 and joined the army of Babar, but returned to Kabul, leaving his sons in India. His son Qazi Mohammad Razi began to live at Hisar-i-Feroza.
3. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.II, p.32.

the same year at the recommendation of Dara Shikoh, the title of 'Khan' was conferred on him[1].

In the war of succession that ensued among the sons of Shahjahan in 1658, Daud Khan fought for Dara Shikoh, and in his support he remained throughout the period the most determined and unflinching loyalist. He joined Dara Shikoh at Multan and obeyed all the commands issued to him to oppose Aurangzeb. But he realised that his master could not save himself, leave alone regain the lost power. All his strategy failed and all his calculation went against him[2]. It was here on 27 September 1658 that Daud Khan with others deserted Dara Shikoh[3], and set out to his home at Hisar-i-Feroza via Jesalmir where shortly afterwards became mentally reconciled to Aurangzeb. The news of his desertion delighted Aurangzeb beyond measure, and he lost no time in winning over this high-spirited and capable general to his side. He soon sent to him robes of honour on 10 November 1658 and in response to this favour Daud Khan came to Delhi to pay his homage to the new Emperor. He was rewarded with a robe of honour, a sword and *mansab* of 4,000/3,000[4]. He accompanied Aurangzeb in his operations against Shuja and fought with great ability and dash in the battle of Khajwa. He proved himself ageneral of resource and dash. Shuja was routed and fled from the field[5]. Aurangzeb deputed a strong force under the supreme command of his son Muhammad Sultan in the pursuit of Prince Shuja, alongwith Daud Khan and Mir Jumla and other famous generals[6]. On 15 January 1659 Daud

1. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, p.33.
2. For details, *Alamgirnama*, pp.84-85, 94-105, 107, 120, 125.
3. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp.10-11, 16. *Alamgirnama*, p.221.
4. *Alamgirnama*, pp.230-31.
5. Ibid. pp.244, 265.
6. Ibid. pp.266, 269.

Khan received an imperial *farman* that after reaching Patna he should take charge of the Government of Bihar[1]. He was further granted an increment in his rank of 4,000/ 3,000 by 1,000 *do aspa seh aspa*.

The appointment of Daud Khan as *subahdar* of Bihar must have been made on some weighty grounds, also to trust the charge of such a province, which was in the throes of political convulsion, at a time when Aurangzeb was not yet securely seated in his saddle and to a man who had shortly before been hostile to him was seemingly a risky step. The main determining factor which influenced the decision of the emperor was outstanding personality of Daud Khan himself. A gallant warrior and competent organizer, Daud Khan combined the qualities of administration, uprightness and zeal for a case. These merits of his character compelled Aurangzeb to gain the support of Daud Khan by employing him to important assignments, with both civil and military. In view of his administrative experience, organizing capacity, matchless valour and integrity of purpose, Daud Khan was considered the most suitable to govern Bihar, now in the grip of instability and uncertainty. And it will be noted that he proved worthy of the task entrusted to him.

The main achievement of Daud Khan lies in the conquest of Palamau and its annexation to the Mughal empire. This raised his prestige and status in the government and he came to be ranked among the most leading peers of the state. It was in this campaign that he exhibited a remarkable measure of that material spirit, intrepidity, quick decision and ability of leadership which characterised his future enterprises in the Deccan and won him a permanent place in the history of Aurangzeb's

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1. Ibid. p.286.

reign. In addition, he gained the confidence and favour of Aurangzeb by suppressing the disturbances raised by the zamindar of Morang (the Nepal terai area, bordering the modern Purnea district of Bihar), and was consequently rewarded with a necklace of pearless worth Rs.50,000/-[1]

There is a large coloured picture on a sheet depciting the fort of Palamau, horrible scene of the battle, and organisation of the armies preserved at public library Gaya[2] which add new information to the details regarding the conquest of Palamau. He founded the township of Daudnagar in Gaya district where the descendants of the family lived till much later times. He selected a site near the old village of Anchha on the bank of the Sone river in the Gaya district, to establish a post with a view to protecting the road from robbers who infested the jungle in that vicinity[3]. He was granted as *altamgha* four thousand *bighas* of lands in *Pargana* Anchha by an imperial *farman* of Aurangzeb and renewed and confirmed by his successors for the rehabilitation of the newly founded township of Daudnagar, which became a permanent home of his family[4].

He was also possessing a keen interest in the constructive activities. In 1661, he constructed two mosques outside and within the Palamau fort. Tavernier

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1. Q. Ahmad, Origin and Growth of Darbhanga Raj (1574-1666), *IHRC*, Vol.XXVI, 1961, p.89-98. This information is given in a rare letter of Aurangzeb addressed to Lashkar Khan, *Subahdar* of Bihar (1664-68). For details see above article.
2. S.A. Rauf, Nawab Daud Khan Subahdar Bihar, *Ma'arif*, 1937. pp.279-81.
3. S.M. Nasir Bilgrami, *Tarikh-i-Daudia*, Aini Press, Allahabad, p.110.
4. S.A. Rauf, Nawab Daud Khan Subahdar of Bihar, *Ma'arif*, 1937, pp.373-76. Cf. L.S.S. O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers*, Gaya, Patna, 1919, Vol.29, pp.28-29, 235.

furnishes us a significant information that he halted at 'Daudnagar Sarai' on 18 December 1665. He also found there a fine beautiful tomb[1]. It clearly reveals Daud's interest for the cause of public welfare too.

Unfortunately no record has been found of any charge of improvement in the administration of the province introduced by Daud Khan Quraishi. A stone slab has been preserved on a building in the Khwaja Kalan Police Station of patna city, which points to the erection of a court of justice, called 'Dar-ul-Adl', by one of his officer, Jafar Khan in 1663. The text has been read as follows :-

> "Fo rendering justice and giving succour to the weak from the strong hands of the oppressors, this court of justice was built by Jafar Khan, the servant of Daud Khan in A.H. 1074 (1663-64)."[2]

It commemorates the regime of Daud Khan marked by justice and secular character. It is possible that he may have had other similar building erected under his order in other important places in the province of Bihar. He continued in his office as *subahdar* of Bihar till some months in 1664, when he was succeeded by Lashkar Khan[3].

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1. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Vol.I, p.99.
2. Q. Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar*, Patna, 1973, pp.271-72.
3. Afterwards, he was appointed as governor of Khandesh and accompanied Mirza Raja Jai Singh in an expedition against Shivaji. He took an active part in the storming and capture Purandhar and Rudrmal forts. Subsequently in 1668, he sent to Deccan to cooperate in punishing Adil Shah of Bijapur. In 1669, he was appointed to the governorship of Berar and was honoured by the bestowal of a robe of honour, a jewelled scinitar, a horse with gold trappings, together with

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2. Lashkar Khan (1664 - 1668)

His real name was Yadgar Beg, and he was the son of Zabardast Khan, an important grandee and body guard of Shahjahan. He entered the royal service some time before 1646, because we find him in 1646 holding the post of superintendent of mace-bearers (*Darogha-i-Gurz bardaran*) and of the *naqdi* (cash pay holder) officers, with a *mansab* of 1000/200. In recognition of his services he was later promoted to the rank of 1500/300, and honoured with the title of Jan Nisar Khan[1]. In 1647 he was sent to Persia as an especial envoy of Shahjahan, with a letter of condolence on the death of Shah Safavi. He also carried with him costly presents, worth of three and a half lakhs of rupees, to offer to Shah Abbas II, on his succession to the throne of the Safavi Empire[2]. He returned from Persia in 1649 and in the same year took charge of the office of the Master of the Horse and promoted to the rank of 2,000/700, and in the following year, 1650, he became *Mir Tuzuk* at the royal Court. In 1653 he was appointed as *mir bakhshi* of Prince Dara Shikoh's army when it was despatched on the Qandhar expedition. In 1654 he was recalled to the court and given charge of

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and promoted to the rank of 5,000/4,000, 3,000 of whom were to be *do aspa* and *seh aspa*. None of the contemporary chronicles furnish the date of Daud Khan's death. His son, Hamid Khan was appointed *faujdar* of Bhojpur in 1682.
See, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.II, p.36.
Alamgirnama, pp.917, 975, 986-88, 1033.
Ma'asir-i-Alamgir, pp.51, 102, 110, 177-78.

1. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, p.168.
2. *Badshahnama*, Vol.II, pp.492-500.
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol.I, p.620.
Cf. B.P. Sexana, *History of Shahjahan of Delhi*, p.221.

second *bakhshi*. But some time afterwards he was removed from the office on charges of embezzlement and by way of penalty his rank was reduced to 500[1]. It was a serious setback in his promising official career.

In 1657 his star of luck once more brightened when he was made the governor of Kashmir and his original *mansab* was restored. During the reign of Aurangzeb, he rose to greater prominence and fame, holding the *subadari* of Multan in 1658, and of Sindh in 1660, and commanding the *mansab* of 3,000/2,500. He continued to maintain this position of power and trust till in 1664 he was sent to Patna to take charge of the government of Bihar[2].

Bernier, who travelled in the Mughal Empire and visited Patna as well says :

> "Laskhar Ken as governor of Patna or Beara, has 8 *sarkars* and 245 *parganas*, yeilding Rs.95,80,000."[3]
>
> Tavernier describes Lashkar Khan as !
>
> "a Venerable man of 80 years, who commanded the rank of 5,000 or 6,000 horse."[4]

He also tells us an interesting story of a certain Brahmins who came to Patna and gathered a crowd of the townsmen. he made a speech before them and asked to offer

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1. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, p.170.
2. *Alamgirnama*, pp.877, 927, 972.
   Ma'asir-ul-Umara, Vol.III, p.171.
3. Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, tr. A. Constable New Delhi, 1968, pp.186, 457.
4. Tavernier, *Travels in India* (1641-1667) Vol.II, ed. W. Crooke, New Delhi, 1977, p.172.

a sum of Rs.2,000, and 27 cubits of cloth. Then he climbed up a tree and seated himself on a forked branch where he remained for a period of thirty days without eating and drinking, being continously watched by nearly hudred men, day and night. Struck by this rare feat of the sufferance, the people felt compelled to pay what he had demanded of them. The French traveller took pains to ascertain the truth but ascribed the performance to 'the work of the devil[1].' Another incident recorded by him throws some light on the accessibility of the supreme executive to the masses as well as on their manners and customs. Tavernier writes that 'a strange occurence happend one day before my presence at Patna. I was with the Dutch at the house of the Governor of the town, named Lashkar Khan when a young and very beautiful woman, scarely more than twenty two years of age, entered the reception room and with a firm and resolute voice required the governor's permission to burn herself with the body of her deceased husband. The sought to turn her from her resolution. But she protested 'I do not fear fire any way and to make you sure to it is so you have only to order a well lighted torch to be brough here.' The governor horrified at the language of the woman, but some of his young nobles forced him to test the woman. But as soon as she saw the torch she ran infront of it, held her hand firmly in the flame without the least grimace, and pushed her arm up to the elbow till it was immediately schorched. This caused a horror to all who witnessed the deed and the governor commanded the woman to be taken away from his presence.[2]

In 1668 Lashkar Khan was transferred from Bihar and to Multan, and in 1670,

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1. *Travels In India*, Vol.II, pp.173-74.
2. *Travels In India*, Vol.II, p.172.

he was appointed as *mir bakhshi* on the death of Danishmand Khan[1]. The author of *Maasir-ul-Umara* informs us that he passed away at the end of 1671[2].

3. Ibrahim Khan (1668 - 1673)

He was the eldest son of the celebrated Amir-ul-Umara Ali Mardan Khan, who belonged to a Kurdish tribe of Persia. Probably he enrolled himself in the royal court of Shahjahan before 1653 because in the same year he received the title of Khan as a mark of favour so he must have been in service since long. In 1657, he held the mansab of 4,000/3,000. He fought in the army of Dara Shikoh against Aurangzeb in the battle of Samugarh. After the defeat of royal forces, Ibrahim Khan joined Murad Baksh, the fourth contender in the war of succession. He served him whole heartedly till Prince Murad was taken into custody by Aurangzeb[3].

Khafi Khan writes that when Prince Murad was arrested Ibrahim Khan rubbed his forehead in shame and paid homage to him[4]. But Manucci says that Ibrahim Khan had also warned Murad Bakhsh against trusting Aurangzeb before his treacherous death[5]. Khafi Khan further informs that Ibrahim Khan resigned but the version of Shah Nawab Khan is different who writes that for some reasons he was deprived of his service and allowed a yearly pension of Rs.5,000[6].

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1. *Ma'asir-i-alamgiri*, p.105.
2. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, p.171.
3. For details, see, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, III, pp.295-98, 795-807.
4. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol.II, p.39.
5. Manucci, *Storia, do Mogor (1653-1708)*, Vol.I, p.301.
6. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol.II, p.41.
   Ma'asir-ul-Umara, Vol.I, p.298.
   Alamgirnama, p.158.

After eclipse, however, the star of his fortune again shone when he was appointed governor of Kashmir in 1660 with a rank of 5,000/5,000[1]. Later he was made governor of Lahore.

In the 11th regnal year of Aurangzeb, 1668, he was given the charge of administration of the *subah* Bihar. He had a long tenure of office in Bihar than his predecessors[2].

During his tenure Bihar witnessed a severe famine which raged from october 1670 to November 1671[3]. The famine occured on account of drought, resulting in complete failure of crops[4]. De Graaf who was present in Patna in 1670, has left a very pathetic account of the ravages done by this famine. According to him people died in large numbers and corpses lay on roads, in streets and in the market places because no body cared to remove them from those places. Thomas Bowrey has also depicted a similar picture[5]. John Marshall, in the course of his journey from Hugli to Patna witnessed the terrible effects of the famine[6]. The foreign accounts unanimously place the responsibility of the unprecedented sufferings and woes of the people at the doors of the governor and his officers who did not strive to save the poor and helpless from starvation and disease during the famine, although the government stores were

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1. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, p.298.
2. Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, p.71.
3. John Marshall, *Notes and Observations in Bengal*, (1668-72) ed. S.A. Khan London, 1927, pp.149-52.
4. De Graaf, *Voyages*, p.67.
5. Thomas Bowrey, *A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, (1669-70), ed. R.C. Temple, London, 1905, p.226.
6. John Marshall, op.cit. p.150.

full with food grains at that time. But their account of the situation seems exaggerated, coloured by deep prejudice, rather hostility, which these foreign diarists, merchants by profession, bore against the provincial government. Actuated by motives of profits these merchants were unwilling either to pay custom duties or submit to laws and regulations operating in localities where they carried their trade. This biased description of the miserable conditions undergone by the people during the period of famine can be modified by a careful perusal of contemporary chronicles which contain sufficient evidence to suggest that the Mughal Emperor did take up relief measures to redress the pain and hardship of the common men by providing money and food and clothing to them. However, it might be admitted that a slackness in the central department of *Wizarat* had come in as a result of the negligence of its head who could take steps to combat the calamity. Since the death of Jafar Khan in 1670, no noble had been appointed to lead the department for six years. The Emperor was distracted by the offensive launched by Shivaji after his escape from Agra in 1666, and supervision of the wazir's office further added to the burden of his administrative duties. Thus it was during this period, 1670-76, that the famine occured and raged, causing misery and devastation in the province of Bihar. This combination of circumstances led to the weakening of Central control over the provincial administration.

Thomas Bowrey holds Ibrahim's chief wife, the daughter of Mirza yahya, son of Saif Khan Qazwini for the tragic consequences of the famine. She had under her control large store-houses, but refused to sell any quantity of grain unless it was

weighed against silver coins[1]. But its editor R.C. Temple, remarks, "I have been unable to find any allusion to the action of the *'Nobob's* chief wife as related by Thomas Bowrey".

During his regime the saltpetre trade in Patna and its adjoining place florished satisfactorily[2]. There is nothing of importance on record to mention about this governor's rule in Bihar. In 1678 Ibrahim Khan sent to Kashmir and after that, he came to Bengal which he governed from 1689-97[3]. The English factors called him 'the most famously just and good Nobob[4]'. Later he served in the same position in the provinces of Allahabad, Lahore, Kashmir and Gujarat. During the reign of Bahadur Shah I (1707-12) Ibrahim Khan was appointed as governor of Afghanistan but he could not administer it effectively due to his old age and retired to his native country Ibrahimabad Sodhara about 30 *Kos* from Lahore and died there within a short period[5].

4. Prince Muhammad Azam (1677- 78)

Prince Muhammad Azam was the third son of Aurangzeb, and his mother was Dilras Banu, an Iranian Princess. He was born in 1653, five years before his father's accession. His real younger brother was Prince Muhammad Akbar who had

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1. Thomas Bowrey, *A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal* (1669-79) ed. R.C. Temple, London, 1905,p.227.
2. N.N. Ray, *The Annals of the Early English Settlement in Bihar*, p.84.
3. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp.163, 236.
   Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p.324.
4. *The Annals of the Early English Settlement in Bihar*, p.97.
5. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, p.300.

fled to Persia after his abortive revolt in 1680-81[1].

On 14 April 1677 Prince Muhammad A'zam was appointed governor of Bihar, with a grant of five crore *dams* in *in'am* (reward); though he arrived in Patna on 24 July 1677 to assume the charge of his office. The tenure of his office, like that of his predecessor, was both brief and eventless. He was soon transferred to Bengal where he stayed as its governor till 1679[2]. He was recalled in 1679 to aid his father in the Rathor rebellion and joined there on 16 December, 1679.

Thereafter, he commanded an independent army in Rajputana and the Deccan, being his father's right hand man in these wars, as Prince Muazzam, his brother was too tame in spirit and a failure in all his military undertakings.

5. Buzurg Ummed Khan (1682 - 1694)

Buzurg Ummad Khan was the third son of Nawab Shaista Khan, the uncle of Aurangzeb, and a veteran noble of the realm[3]. In the war of succession Buzurg Ummed Khan fought in the army of Aurangzeb against Dara Shikoh, and for his

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1. In his childhood he had been petted by his aunt Raushan Ara, and after his mariage in 1669 with Prince Dara Shikoh's daughter, Jahanzeb Banu he became the favourite of his other aunt, Jahan Ara who had brought up his wife as her foster child. Aurangzeb, too liked him above his other sons, for his manliness, courage, intelligence and power of command. It seems that Aurangzeb throughout life showed marks of exceptional love to this couple and to their eldest son Bidar Bakhat, a gallant, discreet, and ever successful general, on all three of whom he used to lavish his fits. He probably hoped thus to atone for his cruelty to his murdered elder brother, Dara Shikoh.
2. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp.157, 161.
   Storia Do Mogor, Vol.II, p.394.
3. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, p.742.

distinguished performance he received the title of Khan, and in 1664 his rank was raised to 4,000/1,000. On his conquest of Chittogong, which was in the possession of *zamindar* of Arakan, Ummed Khan was honoured by an addition of 1500/900 to his rank[1].

Regarding the date of Ummed Khan's appointment to the post of the governorship of Bihar there is difference between the evidence given by Shahnawaz Khan and that contained in the *Akhbarat*. According to the author of *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Buzurg Ummed Khan was appointed subahdar of Allahabad in the 36th regnal year, 1692-93 and soon afterward he became the governor of Bihar, and died in 38th regnal year, 1105/1693-94. But an entry dated 6 May 1682 informs us about an attempt made by Shaista Khan to get his son appointed as the *subahdar* of Bihar. It states that on the occasion of Ganga Ram's rebellion in Bihar, Shaista Khan reported to the Emperor Aurangzeb about some of the preventive measures made by him, including the deputation of Buzurg Ummed Khan to Bihar with 2,000 strong men, as desired by the Emperor. But Shaista Khan went on to write, in a rather presumptuous and informal manner, that the Emperor had appointed such worthless persons to the post of (governorship of Bihar) that they could not cope with such emergencies. It was advisable, he added, the *subahdari* of Bihar be conferred on Buzurg Ummed Khan and Safi Khan be appointed as *subahdar* of Orissa. The entry concludes with the remarks that the Emperor read the report and kept quiet. This interesting information shows that attempts were being made, at least from the middle

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1. *Alamgirnama*, p.940.
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol.II, p.188. According to Khafi Khan, a large *pargana* in the Baqar Ganj district isnamed Buzurgummedpur.

of 1682, to get Buzurg Ummed Khan appointed to the post of *subahdari* of Bihar. The efforts did not take long to succeed, for we find that a *farman* was issued in August 1682, addressed to Shaista Khan, regarding the appointment of Buzurg Ummed Khan, who assumed charge of his new office in Bihar in December 1682. It is clear from another entry in the *Akhbarat*, dated December 1682, which records a petition from Buzurg Ummed Khan, the *subahdar* of Bihar, that he had reached there and devoted himself to the task of settlement of revenues and that same zamindars had not paid their dues since the last year, but by the grace of the Emperor's fortune he would subdue them.

The correct information about him in the semi-official contemporary history, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, which says that Buzurg Ummed Khan was transferred from Bihar to Allahabad on 5 July, 1692, a little later it states that Buzurg Ummed Khan, the *subahdar* of Bihar died on 13 February, 1695, that Aitqad Khan and Abul Maali, brother of the deceased, were offered robes of mourning and that Fidai Khan, *subahdar* of Allahabad, was transferred to Bihar[1].

However, he governed the *subah* of Bihar for a long spell, from the end of 1682 to the end of 1694. Though a vigorous and efficient administrator, Ummed Khan was rigid and uncompromising in his views and dealings with other officers and nobles in the province. He often fell out with the provincial *diwan* who was the supreme finance officer, responsible for his acts to the central government alone. For example, he clashed with Mirza Mu'iz Fitrat, the *diwan* of Bihar. Mirza Mu'iz Fitrat was the son-in-law of Shah Nawaz Khan Safavi, and a poet and learned scholar.

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1. Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, pp.348, 369.

Shah Nawaz Khan tells an interesting story of their clash which reflects the delicacy of sophistication of mind and cultured manner of the nobles of those days[1]. Shah Nawaz Khan tells that on the very first day taking charge of his office Mirza Mu'iz went to the governor's house and put his hands and rinsed his mouth in a small water-basin that stood in the portico. The water of the basin which was flowing thus became polluted. This uncivilized act of the *diwan* proved galling to the governor who immediately reported the matter to the royal court, recommending his removal[2].

Another news-letter dated 19 March 1685, refers to his clash with Mir Munir the *diwan* of Bihar. It informs that the Emperor reprimanded the governor on his interference within the work of the *diwan*. But it produced no effect in the behaviour of Ummed Khan for we find him continually quarrelling with his *diwans* in subsequent year like Mir Kalan, and Muhammad Sadiq. His close relationship with the Emperor and constant intervention by his father, Shaista Khan, saved him from the ultimate ruin which had been the fate of some other governors under similar circumstances.

He had constructed a mosque in Nagla, Patna city. The mosque now is in ruins. But garden and a graveyard attached to it are still found and there, according to local tradition Buzurg Ummed Khan is buried here.

An inscription at the central entrance in the facade of the mosque, in the form of Persian couplet records the date of its construction by Buzurg Ummed Khan as 1100/1688-89[3]. The composer of the chronogram was some one poetically surnamed

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1. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, p.454.
2. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, p.454.
3. Syed Mohammad, Old Muslim Inscription of Patna, *JBORS*, 1930, pp.354-355.

Najaf. The translation of the text is as follows:-

1. Buzurg Ummed Khan, the dignified Khan, whose generosity is known to all the peoples (*Khalq*). of the world.

2. As Najaf sought from the Angel the date (of his Mosque's construction) it immediately replied, 'May it be the abode of rectitude' 1100 (1688-89).

A Mohalla, called Katra-i-Shaista Khan, still exists, and a mosque was built by a *nazir* of Shaista Khan in the same year 1100, which stands to the west of Buzurg Ummed Khan's mosque. All this indicates that members of the families of Shaista Khan and his son, probably, lived around the area. When Buzurg Ummed Khan passed away in early 1695, he was in all probability, laid to eternal rest in the graveyard of the mosque built by him.

6. Prince Azim-ush-Shan (1703 - 1707)

Prince Muhammad 'Azim alias Azim-ush-Shan was a son of Aurangzeb's eldest son, Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahadur Shah. He was born in 1664 from a Rajput princess, daughter of Rup Singh Rathor[1]. Prince Azim got married in 1677 with the daughter of Kerat Singh, who received as *Jahez* or dowry Rs.63,000, jewlleries, one *palki*, five *dulis* with embroidered and jewelled pillows[2]. His second marriage took place in 1692 with a daughter of Ruh-Allah Khan, an important noble of the court.

Azim was appointed viceroy of Bengal, including Kuch Bihar in 1697[3], and in 1703the *subah* of Bihar was added to his administrative charge[4]. He received

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1. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p.49.
2. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p.167.
3. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p.387. *Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chaghtai*, fol.295a-b.
4. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p.470.

a sudden increase in his rank by 1,200/8000 (2,000 *do aspa* and a grant of 40 lakhs *dams* as *in'am*. When the viceroyalty of Bihar was also given to him he was granted an increase of 1 crore 40 lakhs *dams* out of 80 lakhs were allotted to Shahabad and 80lakhs to Palamau as his *jagir*.

The author of *Riyaz-us-Salatin* writes that Prince Azim-ush-Shan preferred to establish at Patna the seat of his government due to its good and healthy climate, situated on the bank of the river Ganges. Aurangzeb approved of his proposal to rehabilitate the city of Patna and accordingly he named it Azimabad after himself, and built there a fort with a strong rampart,[1] the local traditions also corroborates it.[2]

Prince Azim successfully suppressed the rebellion of Rahim Shah, an Afghan *zamindar* of Bengal and the districts of Bardwan, Hugli and Jassore were made cleansed from the Afghan raiders. After the victory Prince halted in the fort of Burdwan which was a residency of the *faujdars* of that district and there he laid the foundations of various buildings and erected a mosque, near Hugli, he founded a township, Shahganj and named it Azimganj. He was a *hafiz* of the 'Holy Quran', and he patronised the learned scholars and theologians, and often discussed with them subjects of religion.

He held in high esteem the learned and noble sought their advice on measures and methods to promote the welfare of the people. He was devoted to Shaikh Baiyazid, a renowned saint of Burdwan[3].

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1. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p.252.
2. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol.XI, district Patna, p.69.
3. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, pp.244-46.

During his stay at Decca he gave up the old style of living maintained by his ancestors, as he began to wear coloured and painted clothes. Moreover, he started private trade in the products of the land by monopolising its sale, and gave it the name of *sauda-i-khas*[1]. By this practice he amassed huge wealth which excited the jealousy of other princes and nobes who prejudiced the Emperor against him. Taking advantage of his greed for money the English applied to the Prince for the purchase of *zamindari* rights of the three villages, Govindapur, Sutanuti and Kalikata (Calcutta) and the same were obtained by them in lieu ofRs.16,000 in 1698[2]. When Aurangzeb heard about these affairs through news writers, he was greatly annoyed with him. In one of his letters to him he wrote that it was not proper to be careless in the conduct of administration and oppressive towards the helpless and poor because it leads to ruination of the Kingdom[3].

He then writes that, when did you learn these preculiar habits which was neither practised by your grandfather nor your father. It is better to eradicate these foolish habits from your mind. I always considered you better than other princes (i.e. my sons and grandsons) and I thought you to be a future king. "What we think proves to be false (or contrary i.e. man proposes, God disposes")[4]. Again from one of the letter of Aurangzeb, it seems that probably once prince Azim started selling and

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1. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p.247. According to its author "all the goods which arrived on board the mercantile ships at the port of Chittagang etc., were bought up on behalf of the Prince, and were termed as *Sauda-i-Khas*, afterwards those very goods were re-sold to the merchants of Bengal and called as *Sauda-i-Am*.
2. C.R. Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol.I, p.150.
3. Aurangzeb frequently used to give advices to Princes how to manage the state affairs. He wished to impress upon their minds his standards of Kingly duty for responsibilities of Government.
4. *Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri*, tr. J.H. Bilimoria, letter No.88, p.85.

drinking of toddy (a drink obtained from date trees and palm trees) during his viceroyalty of Bengal and Bihar. So Aurangzeb advised him that you should consider your counsellors as dishonest who gave you such foolish advices. Beware of such men who are the root-cause of ruin to families as enemies of your person and property. You should be thankful to the 'Holy God' that He has bestowed upon you fertile and productive districts where every thing is cheap and abundant. So it is your prime duty to protect the lives and property of the subjects which is the source of happiness in this world and in the next world[1].

So these letters reflects the Prince Azim's character and personality which is a subject of frequent change.

However, he was recalled by the Emperor Aurangzeb and he set out from Patna shortly before the death of Aurangzeb (1707), on his departure, he appointed Sarbuland Khan to work as his *naib* (deputy) in Bihar[2]. He was intending to go Deccan where the Emperor was encamped but during his way he received the news of his grandfather's death. Ultimately turned his journey towards Agra with 20,000 horses and the subahdar of Agra, Mukhtar Khan was made captive and all his belongings were confiscated at once[3].

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1. *Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri*, Letter No.90, p.86.
2. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p.267.
3. Probably due to his efforts and the vast resources he had carried away from Bihar and Bengal that his father, Mu'azzam eventually came out successful in the ensuing fratricidal struggle and ascended the throne under the name of Bahadur Shah (1707-12). During the rule of his father he was appointed as Governor of Bengal and remained till 1712. After the death of Bahadur Shah I, there was a war of succession and Prince Azim-ush-Shan died in fighting and probably his corpse was despatched by his son Farrukh Siyar to Aurangabad

Contd.....2

7. Raja Ram Narayan (1752 - 63)

Raja Ram Narayan played a very important role in the political history of Bihar during the 18th century. He was the son of a Shrivastav Kayastha named Rang Lal, an inhabitant of village Kishunpur in *pargana* sasaram of *sarkar* Shahabad (Bihar)[1]. He was born probably in 1714 or 1719. Rang Lal, the father of Raja Ram Narayan served as *diwan* of Alivardi Khan. So being a member of a well educated and affluent family Ram Narayan got ample opportunity to receive his early education in a proper manner. At that time Persian was the official language as well as medium of instruction, so Ram Narayan got his education accordingly and became well versed in persian and urdu which provided him way to enter into the state services. Later, he politically surnamed 'Mauzun' and recognised as an eminent man of letters among his contemporaries. He was regarded a distinguished Persian poet of his age. He began his career as a clerk in Bihar on Rs.5 per month and was subsequently raised to the private secretaryship of Haibat Jang, the deputy governor of Bihar. While Raja Janki Ram was made *naib nazim* of Bihar (1748-52), Ram Narayan elevated to the post of Diwan of the province. These administrative experiences helped him immensely in his later political career. Haibat Jang got valuable help from him in suppressing the Afghans under the leadership of Mustafa Khan. When Mustafa Khan, the Afghan Commander had in anger resigned the Nawab's service in 1745 and attacked

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Cond. from page.

and he was buried there. After the death of Jahandar Shah (1712-13), Farrukh Siyar, the beloved son of Prince Azim-ush-Shah became the Emperor of Hindustan and ruled till 1719. See, William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol.I, pp.15-16, 176-77.

1. K.K. Datta; op.cit.; p.166..

Patna, Ram narayan fought against him as one of the six commanders[1]. It was due to Kirat Chand and Raja Ram Narayan's tactfulness that Haibat Jang could be saved in a hand to hand fight against Mustafa Khan. However, Haibat Jang was assassinated by the Afghans at Chihil Satun at Patna in 1748. Ram Narayan had a providential escape from this terrible calamity. At the time of the assassination of Haibat Jang, Raja Ram Narayan was working in the accounts office. They were taken unawares and were without arms; they were stripped to the skin and allowed to depart, some wounded and some not[2].

Raja Ram Narayan was a sincere and astute politician. patience and perseverance were the striking features of his character. On the elevation to the post of Deputy Governor of Bihar on 29 January 1752, he was bestowed with a fringed *Palki*, a special robe of honour, gilded head-dress and a sword with enamelled handle. Being an efficient administrator, just after taking over the charge of the province of Bihar, he despatched to the Nawab of Bengal, his master, 4 lakhs of rupees, which he found surplus in the treasury of Raja Janki Ram. He had written a letter to Nawab Alivardi Khan in November 1752 detailing the condition of the province that "by the eternal good fortune of your Excellency, the Government of the country is well ordered and well regulated. The people are enjoying peace and order and are praying for the perpetuation of your Excellency's protection".

Subsequently, when he observed that the government has suffered much loss of revenue due to non-payment of dues by the recalcitrant *zamindars* of Bihar

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1. *Siyar-al-Mutaakherin*, Vol.I, p.449
2. Ibid; Vol.II, p.38.

and even many political adventurer had made their headway to carve some new estates for themselves. Keeping in view the circumstances prevailing Ram Narayan successfully suppressed such powerful and prominent chiefs like Bhojpuria Rajputs of Jagdishpur and Chainpur (sasaram), Kamgar Khan of Narhat and Samoy, Raja Sunder Singh Tikari (Gaya), Bishun Singh of Seres and Kotamba and others who frequently disturbed the peace of the land in the middle of the 18th century in Bihar. The most marked feature of Raja Ram Narayan's political career was his ability and the wisdom he displayed in settling the affairs of the province. Even after battle of Plassey, Ram Narayan's conduct can not in any way be held responsible for the cruel fate that overtook Nawab Siraju'd Daula of Bengal. History is evident; that he remained loyal to the Nawab till the end of his life. It is said that amongst the Hindus whom Alivardi Khan had raised to high posts, Raja Ram Narayan seems to have been the only one whose gratitude had not been enstrangled by the despotic caprices of Siraju'd Daula. He can not be regarded a traitor to the salt he had eaten. It has observed that even after the accession of Mir Jafar on the *masnad* of Bengal, Lord Clive found much interested in Ram Narayan's confirmation to the post and expressed their confidence in his integrity and fidelity.

During the period of Nawab Mir Qasim of Bengal (1760-64) it is recorded that Mir Qasim was not remained happy with Ram Narayan's conduct and endeavoured to remove him due to some grievances against him. Ultimately, Nawab suspended him from his rank and authority as *naib nazim* of the *suba* and Raja Raj Ballav was appointed in his place. After the defeat of the Nawab Mir Qasim's forces at the battles of Suti and Adhuanalla at the hands of the Britishers in 1763; Mir Qasim decided to leave his capital at Monghyr. The Nawab caused Ram Narayan to be

thrown into the river Ganges below Monghyr fort with a pitcher filled with sand and tied to his neck[1]. According to Firminger, Raja Ram Narayan was put in a boat and it is believed that he was drowned on 19 August 1763[2]. Thus ended the career of Raja Ram Narayan, who had played a remarkable role in the history of Bihar during the eighteenth century.

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1. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p.390.
   Siyar-al-Mutaakherin, Vol.II, p.493.
   See also, Thompson and Garrat, op.cit, p.94.
2. Walker K. Firminger, *Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna*, 1763, Calcutta, 1909.

APPENDIX - C

A complete list of administrative divisions (i.e. *Sarkars* and their respective *mahals* (*Parganas*) of *Subah* Bihar as recorded in the collection of contemporary miscellaneous papers (*Kaghzat-i-Mutafarriqa*), based on official figures and documents, British Museum, London, Add. 6586, fols. 98a-101b, assignable to the last years of Aurangzeb's reign, 1707 A.D.

1. *Sarkar Bihar (57 mahals)*

Haveli Bihar	*Haveli* Azimabad
Arwal	Amritu
Asri	Anchha
Angola Waghairah (2 *mahals)*	
Aukhri	Ikhal
Basonk	Parak
Malalun Waghairah (3 *mahals)*	
Balkh	Balia
Behra	Bhilawar
Phulwari	Bist Hazari
Bhimpur	Bikhanpur
Maladwa	Jargawan
Jarrah	Jai Champa

Dadar	Dhakner
Rajgir	Rampur
Ruh	Sandah
Salimabad	Samai
Salot	Noor Mohammad
Samaur	Shahjahanpur
Shahra	Ghyaspur
Qila Deokan (2 *mahals)*	
Kabar	Gidhaur
Godah	Ghatibandah
Ghatisher	Gaya
Maldah	Mandoi Shikampur
Mandoi Sultanpur	Maner
Manaura	Masooda
Wilayat Khokhrah (2 *mahals)*	

2. *Sarkar Tirhut (*97 *mahals)*

Haveli Dharbhanga	Aubhi Hassu
Abhai Chob	Alapur
Akbarpur	Auhargarh

Augharah	Rahas
Ahilwara	Nimrah
Barai	Bahanwar
Pachhim Bhigu	Bachhar
Dharpur Chakeri	Parmal
Borah	Bagda
Bakaria	Barel urf Pindarach
Bochha	Purab Bhigu
Bahadupur	Bhala
Bhadwar	Bharwarah
Bhor	Bihiya
Naiki	Tajpur
Tirhut	Bargaun
Nirmali	Malu Kujawand
Bhagar	Jaghar
Jabdi	Jarail
Hasman	Chakmani
Jahangirabad	Hamidpur
Khalilpur	Dilawarpur

Dahror	Ramchawla
Shakri Waghairah (4 *mahals)*	
Bamrahi Chand	
Bimarsah Waghairah (6 *mahals)*	
Sulaimanabad	Salimpur
Sehwarah	Shahor
Shahjahanpur	Fakhrabad
Farrukhpur	
Karkahla Gaogarh (2 *mahals)*	
Garh Chawangir	Kabad
Kankauli	Gopalpur
Gaur	Koradi
Gomhra	Garh Sandah
Ladwari	Boin
Manor	Chandah
Morwa	Makwan
Tilhi Gopalpur	Mohitpur
Kamtaul Mulki	Mondra Pachauli
Mahed	Mehla

Narand Nagar	Madai
Barangaon	Kumukpur Balhi
Sukhpur Kodah	Nizamuddinpur
Lowan (Lowam)	Mauan
Habi (Hali)	Hati
Harni	

3. *Sarkar Monghyr (40 mahals)*

Haveli Monghyr	Abhaipur
Amlu Motia	Osla
Ahrohi	Tirhut Para - 3 *mahals*
Pashi	Balia
Banor	Bhagalpur
Pharkia	Holkalu
Jamdan	Chandoi
Chandan Khokhrah	Jahangirabad
Chai	Dand Sakhwara
Dharampur	Dhuwaira
Roz Afzun Nagar	Balhari
Sakun	Sakhrabadi

Sakhrasani	Suraj Garh
Harohi	Kajrah
Kajrah	Kordah
Khatki	Kharhi (Garhi)
Kahalgaon	Lakhanpur
Masjidpur	Masdi
Lachha	Hindui
Hazartaki	

4. *Sarkar Champaran (3 mahals)*

Samrun	Majhwa
Mehsi	

5. Sarkar Hajipur (12 mahals)

Haveli Hajipur	Akbarpur
Balagach	Basara
Bhusawi	Rati
Saresa	Imadpur
Garh Samdah	Basha
Milki	Naipur

6. *Sarkar Saran (18 mahals)*

	Haveli Saran	Indar
	Bara	Pal
	Barai	Pachlak
	Charanand	Juwainah
	Begsi	Sipah
	Shahjahanabad	Kasmar
	Kalyanpur	Godah
	Mangjhi	Makha
	Saindhmak	Narhan
7.	*Sarkar Rohtas* (7 *mahals)*	
	Haveli Rohtas	Balaunja
	Japla	Chainpur
	Siris	Sahsaram
	Kautamba	
8.	Sarkar Shahabad (12 mahals)	
	Haveli Shahabad	Arrah
	Baragaon	Panwarah
	Nanor	Bihiya
	Piru	Danwar

	Dinarah			Ratanpur		
	Kot			Sakrur		
Total :-	*Sarkars*	-	8	*mahals*	-	246

APPENDIX - D

LIST OF IMPORTANT FAUJDARS, QALADARS, BAKHSHIS AND DIWANS OF BIHAR UNDER THE MUGHAL RULE

FAUJDARS

Name	Year	Place	Source
Farrukh Khan	1580	Darbhanga	Bihar Through Ages p.491.
Kishwar Khan	1612	Rohtas	Ibid; p.492.
Khwaja Ahmad Samarqandi	1623	Monghyr	B.P. Ambasthya, p.235
Mukhtar Khan	1628	Monghyr	M.U.[1] III, pp.409-13
Shujaat Khan	1628	Tirhut	B.T. p.494
Atish Khan Deccani	1640-43	Bhagalpur	M.U.I, p.89
Khwas Khan Bakhtiyar Deccani	1644-45	Tirhut	M.U.I, pp.774-75
Sazawar Khan Mashhadi	1657-59	Tirhut	M.U.III, pp.557-60 II, 438-41
Abul Maali	1659	Tirhut	M.U. III, p.561
Khwaja Nasir	1659	Rohtas	S.H. Askari's article, I, p.256.
Mirza Khan	1659-64	Darbhanga	Ibid, History of Darbhanga Raj, p.96
Abul Maali	1664-65	Darbhanga	M.U. III, pp.557, 666
Bahadur Khan	1659	Chainpur	S.H. Askari I, p.258.

1. M.U. *Muasir-ul-Umara*

Name	Year	Place	Source
Mukhlis Khan	1659	Saran	S.H. Askari I, p.258
Mangli Khan	1661-66	Palamau	Ibid; A.N.[1] p.972.
Marhamat Khan	1666-67	Arrah	A.N. p.972
Saadat Khan	1664	Shahabad	S.H. Askari, II, pp.56-57
Marun Khan	1664-70	Tirhut	S.H. Askari,II, p.59
Saadat Khan	1666	Arrah	S.H. Askari,II pp.56-57.
Hadi Khan	1670-74	Tirhut and Darbhanga	M.A.[2] p.157
Askar Khan	1670	Arrah	S.H. Askari, II, p.59
Tarbiyat Khan	1677-78	Tirhut and Darbhanga	M.A. p.157, M.U. III p.930
Hamid Khan	1681	Bhojpur	M.A. p.207.
Shaikh Ibrahim	1681	Sasaram	S.H. Askari, III, p.161
Sipahdar Khan	1693	Darbhanga	Ibid, p.165
Ahmad Khan	1694	Arrah	Ibid, p.168
Abul Hasan	1696	Bihar	Ibid, p.169
Mohd. Saleh	1698	Palamau	Ibid, p.169
Fidai Khan	1700	Tirhut and Darbhanga	M.A. P.433 M.U. p.564
Mukhlis Khan	1701	Saran	S.H. Askari III, p.170
Shamsher Khan	1701-2	Shahabad	Ibid, p.171

1. A.N. *Alamgir Nama.*
2. M.A. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*

Name	Year	Place	Source
Mirza Asmatullah	1702	Saran	K.K. Datta, p.38-39.
Mahmud Khan	1703	Monghyr	S.H. Askari III, pp.175-76
Beg Khan	1704	Monghyr	Ibid.
Amanullah	1707	Monghyr	Ibid.
Khanazad Khan	1715	Bhojpur	-

QALADARS OF ROHTAS FORT

Name	Year	Place	Source
Muhib Ali Khan Rohtari	1576-88		*Akbar Nama*, Vol.III, p.198, 460,536
Ikhlas Khan	1608		M.U. I, pp.198-99
Kishwar Khan	1608-12		*Tuzuk*, p.68 M.U. pp.198-99
Syed Mubarak	1624-25		*Iqbal Nama*, p.222
Bayazid Beg	1632-35		Q. Ahmad, *Corpus*, pp.235-38.
Ikhlas Khan	1636-38		Ibid.
Naknam Khan	1665		A.N.P. 876
Hizbar Khan	1666		M.U. III, p.946.
Mir Inayatullah	1702		S.H. Askari, III, pp.155-81
Abdul Qadir	1703		S.H. Askari, III, pp.155-81.

BAKHSHIS OF BIHAR

Name	Year	Place	Source
Purshottam	1579		A.N.III p.284. T.A.[1] II, p.515.
Abdur Razzaq Mamuri	1586-87		A.N. III, p.511.
Sharif Sarmadi	1592		A.N.III, p.601
Mukhtar Beg	1599		A.N. III, p.739
Ulugh Beg Kabuli	After 1599		Ibid.
Iradat Khan	1607		*Tuzuk*, pp.55-56.
Shaikh Husain Banarsi	1610-11		*Tuzuk*, pp.83-84 I.N. pp.42-44.
Mirak Husain	1615		*Tuzuk*, p.145.
Sultan Mahmud	1617		*Tuzuk*, p.189
Abdur Rahim	1683-86		S.H. Askari, III, p.164.
Ali Raza	1694		Ibid, p.165
Mirza Khalil	1703		Ibid, p.176
Mohd. Baqar	1703		Ibid.

DIWANS OF SUBA BIHAR

Name	Year	Place	Source
Mulla Taiyab	1578-80		T.A.II, p.515. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, II, p.366.
Purshottam	1581		M.U. II, pp.771-73

1. T.A. *Tarikh-i-Akbari*

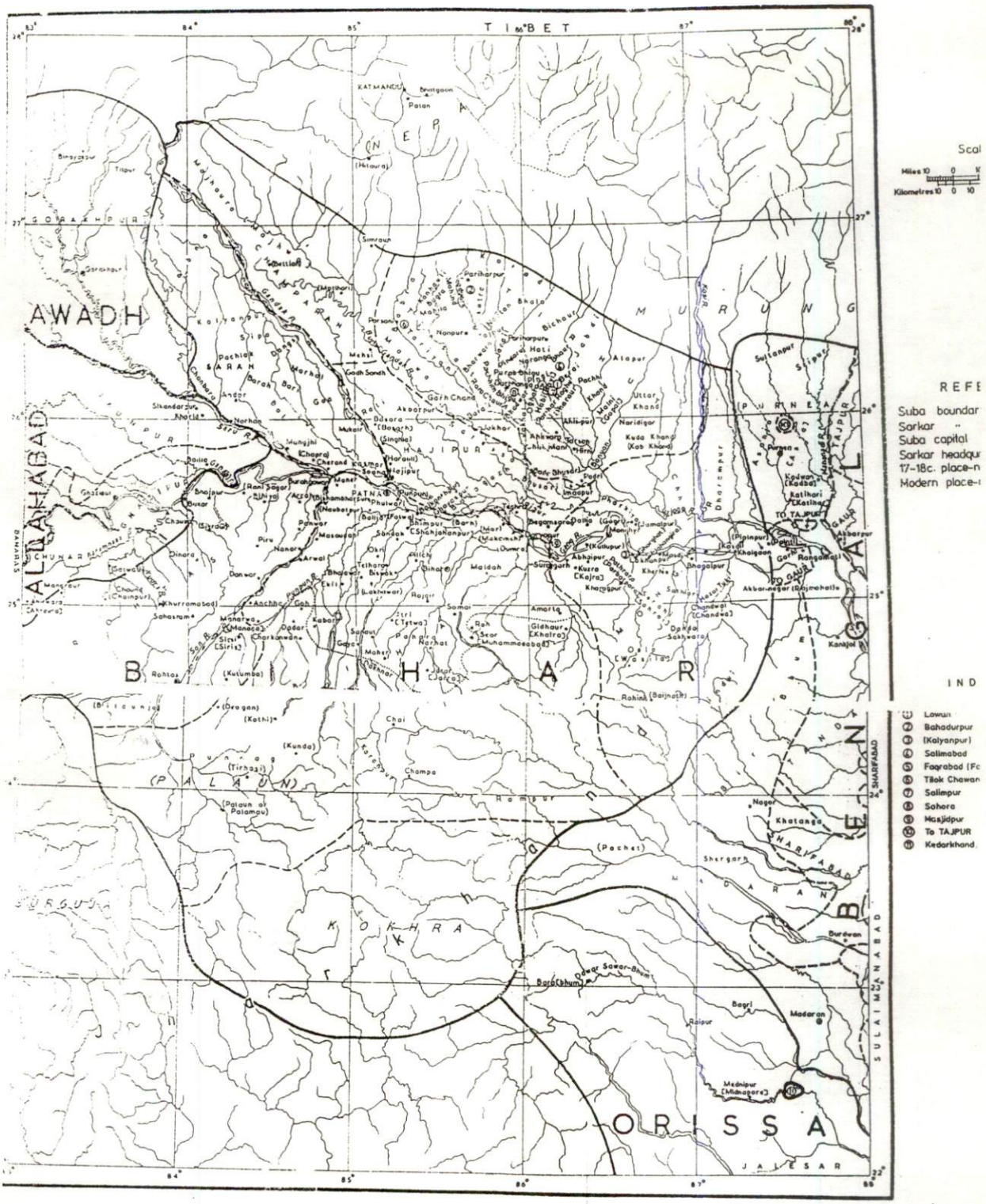
Name	Year	Place	Source
Rai Patar Das	1587		A.N. III, p.511
Rai Ram Das Rathor	1596		A.N. III, p.670.
Rai Kishan Sur	1597		S.H. Askari, Akbar's reign II, pp.9-28
Ghiyas Zain Khan	1610		*Tuzuk*, pp.83-84.
Mukhlis Khan	1624		M.U.III, pp.428-30.
Aqidat Khan	1629		*Lahori's Badhshah Nama*, I, p.245
Bani Das	1646		Lahori, II, p.408.
Musavi Khan	1683-86		M.U. I, pp.453-54 M.U.III, pp.633-36
Mir Husain	1694		S.H. Askari, III, p.166.
Saadat Khan	1700		S.H. Askari, III, p.166.
Ahmad Ali Khan	1701		S.H. Askari, III, p.170.
Abdul Qadir Khan	1702		S.H. Askari, III, p.171
Murshid Quli Khan	1703		S.H. Askari, III, p.175.

BIHAR

APPENDIX - E (i)

POLITICAL 1595

10 A

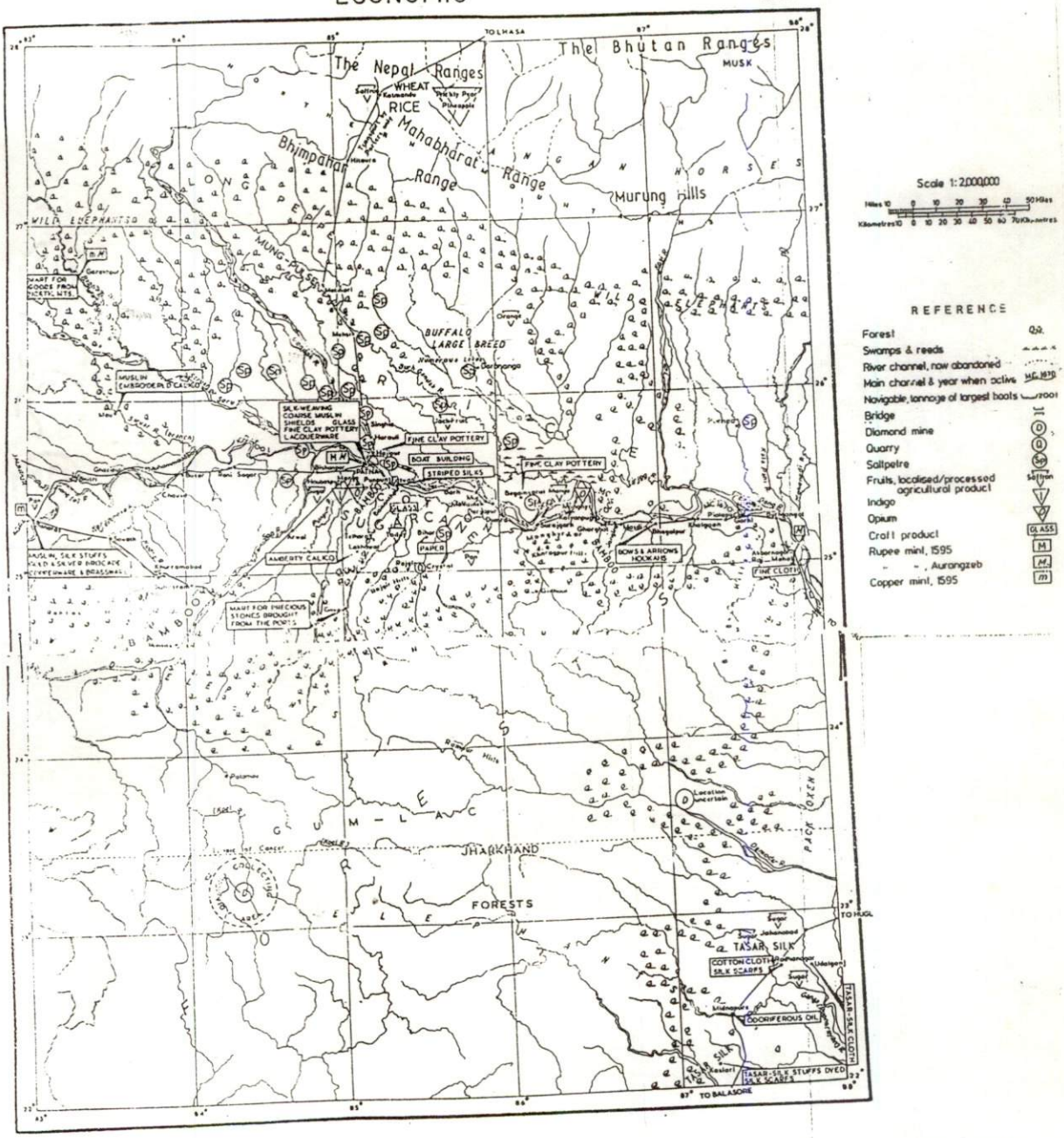


COURTESY: Prof. Irfan Habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire

APPENDIX - E (ii)

BIHAR

ECONOMIC 10 B

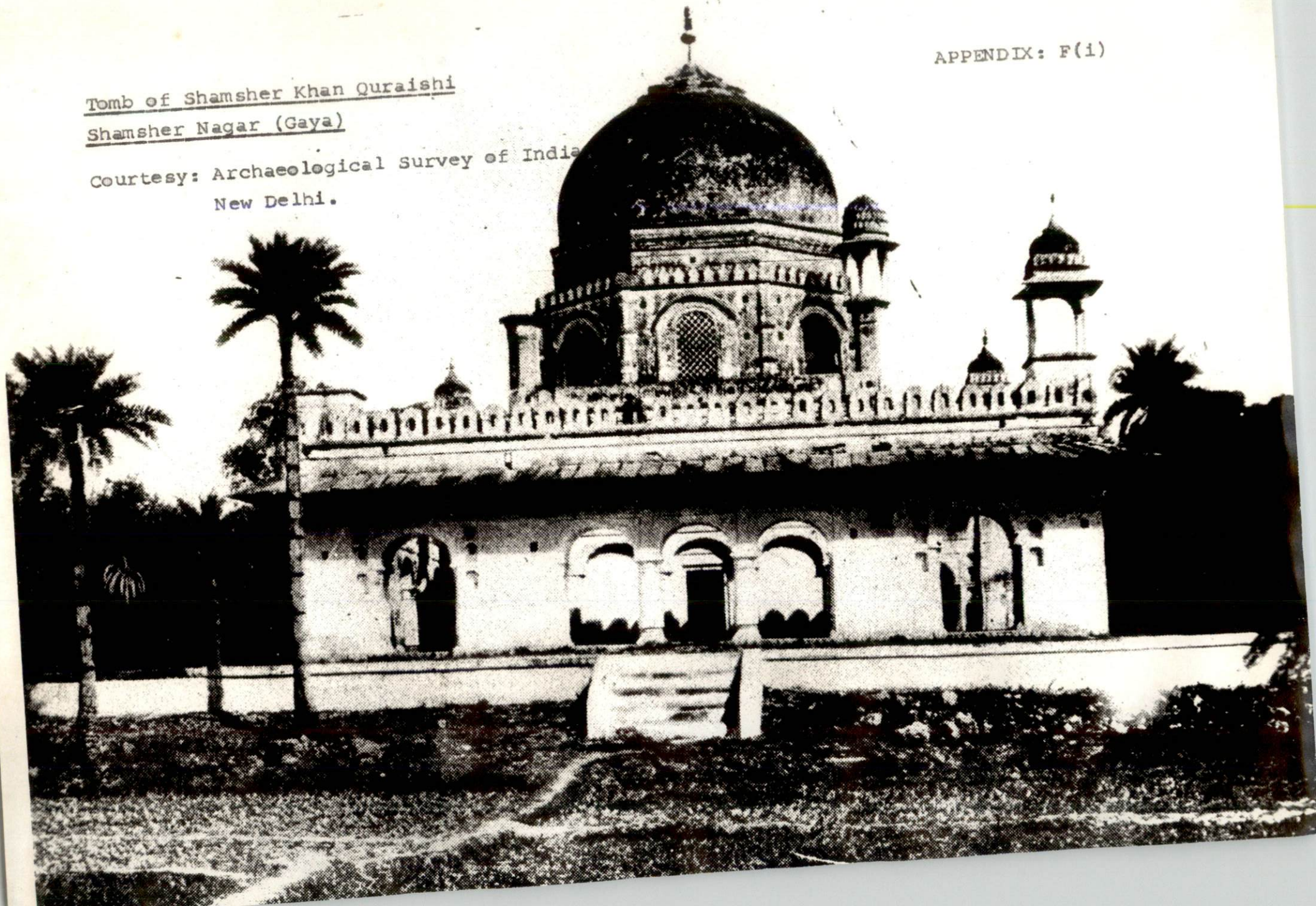


COURTESY: Prof. Irfan Habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire.

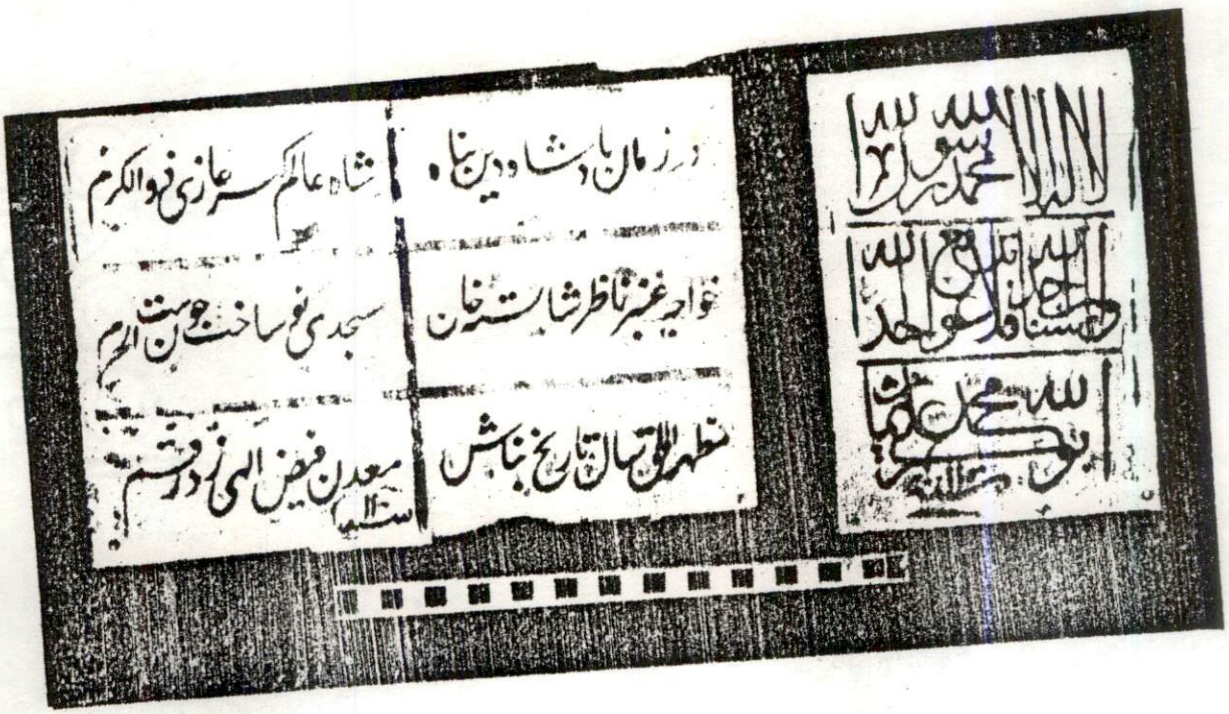
APPENDIX: F(i)

Tomb of Shamsher Khan Quraishi
Shamsher Nagar (Gaya)

Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India
New Delhi.



Inscription dated A.H. 1078 (1667-68)
From Patna City.



Inscriptions dated A.H. 1100 (1688-89)
From Patna City.

APPENDIX - G

A LIST OF SARAIS (INNS) IN BIHAR UNDER THE MUGHALS.

Name of Sarai	Situation (Routes)	Source
Sarai Sirsi	Banaras - Patna	Peter Mundy, II, p.124.
Khajurka Sarai	Banaras - Patna	Ibid; pp.125, 172.
Sawant Ka Sarai	Banaras - Patna	Ibid; p.126.
Khwaja Ka Sarai	Banaras - Patna	Ibid, pp.128, 172.
Aganur Sarai	Banaras - Patna	Ibid, p.134 Tavernier, I. 121
Saif Khan's Sarai	Patna	J. Marshall, p.160.
Arwal Ka Sarai	Arwal	P. Mundy, II, p.165 Tavernier, I, p.129.
Matta Ka Sarai	Banaras - Patna	P. Mundy, II, p.165.
Sadraza Ki Sarai (Syed Raje)	Banaras - Patna	Tavernier, I, p.120 Marshall, p.16a.
Mohania Ki Sarai	Banaras - Patna	Tavernier, I, p.121, Marshall, p.160 Buchanan Report, Shahabad, p.132.
Daud Nagar Sarai	Daud Nagar (Gaya)	Tavernier, I, p.121. Eng. Factories I, p.107.
Baikanthpur Sarai	Baikanhpur	Tavernier, I, P.123, Buchanan, Bihar and Patna report, p.75
Danapur Sarai	Danapur	Tavernier, I, p.123.
Rani Sarai	Patna - Rajmahal	Marshall, pp.77, 126.
Garhi Sarai	Patna - Rajmahal	Ibid, p.119.

Name of Sarai	Situation (Routes)	Source
Pialpur Sarai	Patna - Rajmahal	Ibid, p.120
Sultan ki Sarai	Patna - Rajmahal	Ibid.
Bhagalpur Sarai	Bhagalpur	Marshall, p.121.
Bohay Sarai	Baha Chauki	Ibid, p.124.
Surajgarh Sarai	Surajgarh	Ibid, p.124.
Bash Sarai	Bash	Marshall, p.125
Asumlik Sarai (Athmagola)	Patna - Rajmahal	Ibid; p.126
Ghamsur Sarai	Patna - Rajmahal	Ibid; p.126
Sarai Hajipur	Hajipur	Ibid; p.128.
Sasaram Sarai	Sahsaram	Ibid; p.160.
Naubatpur Sarai	Naubatpur	Ibid; p.160.
Jahanabad Sarai	Banaras - Patna	Ibid; p.160 Eng. Factories, I, p.455. Buchanan, Shahabad, p.133.
Mendroo Sarai	Noor Lakhawar	Ibid, p.110.
Mughlavi Sarai	Nepal - Patna	Marshall, p.161.
Sunder ki Sarai	Butsulla	Marshall, p.161.
Begam Sarai	Begam Sarai	Ibid, p.414.
Burh Jangal	Patna - Rajmahal	Ibid, pp.117-18.
Ney Sarai (Nabobganj)	Patna - Rajmahal	Ibid, p.125.
Vukeley Sarai	Banaras - Patna	Ibid; p.160.

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SYNOPSIS

(For the award of Ph.D. degree from L.N. Mithila University, Darbhanga)

TOPIC :- "THE PROVINCE OF BIHAR UNDER THE MUGHAL RULE, 1658 - 1765 A.D."

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influences, and the growth and expansion of the British influence which finally culminated into the acquisition of *Diwani*-rights over the province in 1765 A.D.

Due to my adequate knowledge and understanding of the classical persian (specially *Shikasta*) I am in a position to explore the contemporary sources viz. original documents, chronicles, travelogue and *Akhbarat* etc. Plenty of source material exist at the National Archives of India, New Delhi, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna, Bihar State Archives, Patna, K.P. Jayaswal Historical Research Institute, Patna, and Patna University Library (Manuscript section), which I intend to consult during the course of my study.

I intend to present, by a proper analysis of the facts, a critical appreciation of the working of the Mughal government in the *Suba* of Bihar.

"THE PROVINCE OF BIHAR UNDER THE MUGHAL RULE, 1658 - 1765 A.D."

Justification for the Study :

The study of medieval Bihar has not been seriously undertaken by scholars and historical research on this crucial period of Indian History has not properly advanced a field. In view of the profuse addition of original material, the Mughal historiography has undergone a tremendous change both in methodology and conceptual frame-work, changing thereby the dimensions of investigation and interpretation.

It will be in the fitness of the things to undertake a detailed study of *Suba* of Bihar, which occupied a strategically link between the upper Gangetic plains of Northern India and the Eastern lands of Assam and Bengal. Rich in agricultural products and full of natural resources, inhabited by simple but industrious people and ever flourishing in trade and commerce. Bihar was a prized possession which Akbar had wrested from the Afghans after a hard struggle. After its annexation, it became one of the important *Subas* of Mughal Empire in 1580 A.D.

The aim of this study is to critically examine the political condition prevailing there which largely contributed to the stability and integrity of the province in those turbulent and strife-ridden times. The study will emphasize the impact of agrarian crisis on the general economy of the region, the method and style of government of the local functionaries, the pattern of trade and commerce and above all the soico-cultural milieu of the time, the transition of society due to various

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SYNOPSIS

(For the award of Ph.D. degree from L.N. Mithila University, Darbhanga)

TOPIC :- "THE PROVINCE OF BIHAR UNDER THE MUGHAL RULE, 1658 - 1765 A.D."

INTRODUCTION

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BIHAR DURING THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD, 1200-1658

1. Foundation of Turkish Rule in Bihar.
2. Bihar Under Delhi Sultans.
3. The Afghan Confederacy in Bihar.
4. Bihar Under Shershah.
5. Formation of *Subah* Bihar Under Akbar.
6. Political Developments in Bihar Under Akbar.
7. Outbreak of New Rebellion in Bihar, 1580-85.
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POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN BIHAR UNDER AURANGZEB, 1658-1707.

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2. Peaceful Tenure of Lashkar Khan.
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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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C. List of Administrative Divisions (i.e. Sarkars and their respective *mahals* (*Parganas*) of Mughal Bihar.

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G. A list of *Sarais* (inns) in Bihar under the Mughals.

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influences, and the growth and expansion of the British influence which finally culminated into the acquisition of *Diwani*-rights over the province in 1765 A.D.

Due to my adequate knowledge and understanding of the classical persian (specially *Shikasta*) I am in a position to explore the contemporary sources viz. original documents, chronicles, travelogue and *Akhbarat* etc. Plenty of source material exist at the National Archives of India, New Delhi, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna, Bihar State Archives, Patna, K.P. Jayaswal Historical Research Institute, Patna, and Patna University Library (Manuscript section), which I intend to consult during the course of my study.

I intend to present, by a proper analysis of the facts, a critical appreciation of the working of the Mughal government in the *Suba* of Bihar.

"THE PROVINCE OF BIHAR UNDER THE MUGHAL RULE, 1658 - 1765 A.D."

Justification for the Study :

The study of medieval Bihar has not been seriously undertaken by scholars and historical research on this crucial period of Indian History has not properly advanced a field. In view of the profuse addition of original material, the Mughal historiography has undergone a tremendous change both in methodology and conceptual frame-work, changing thereby the dimensions of investigation and interpretation.

It will be in the fitness of the things to undertake a detailed study of *Suba* of Bihar, which occupied a strategically link between the upper Gangetic plains of Northern India and the Eastern lands of Assam and Bengal. Rich in agricultural products and full of natural resources, inhabited by simple but industrious people and ever flourishing in trade and commerce. Bihar was a prized possession which Akbar had wrested from the Afghans after a hard struggle. After its annexation, it became one of the important *Subas* of Mughal Empire in 1580 A.D.

The aim of this study is to critically examine the political condition prevailing there which largely contributed to the stability and integrity of the province in those turbulent and strife-ridden times. The study will emphasize the impact of agrarian crisis on the general economy of the region, the method and style of government of the local functionaries, the pattern of trade and commerce and above all the soico-cultural milieu of the time, the transition of society due to various

THE PROVINCE OF BIHAR UNDER THE MUGHAL RULE
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CHAPTER - VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Since ancient days the region of Bihar occupies a crucial position in the annals of Indian History. Towards the beginning of 13th century, this region was annexed to the Delhi sultanate and continued to be ruled by different successive Turkish commanders with some interregnum when it was occupied by semi-independent rulers of Bengal including Sharqis of Jaunpur. However, during the reign of Shershah, it constituted as a *vilayet* of his empire. When Akbar divided his empire into twelve *subahs* in 1580, Bihar was incorporated into his dominion, and came to be shaped as a separate independent administrative unit of the Mughal Empire. During the reign of Aurangzeb, Bihar remained intact and possessed the status of an independent administrative unit of the Mughal Empire. The Bihar governors then were in no way subordinate to the governors of Bengal. After Fakhrud Daula, its last independent governor, Bihar was, however, annexed to the Bengal province and it remained as an appanage of Bengal thereafter for about 180 years (1733 to 1912). The battle of Giria in 1740 made Alivardi Khan, the undisputed ruler of Bengal and Bihar, and was succeeded by Siraju'd Daula in 1756. The period between 1757 and 1765 was marked by the growth of the British influence in Bengal and Bihar also was thereby exposed to the same influence. The leading nobles and zamindars of Bihar were, however, not prepared to accept the new change; they opposed the English dominance over Bihar and fought single-handedly against the English before allowing Bihar to go the Bengal way. After becoming victorious at the Battle of Buxar, the Britishers received Diwani Grant over Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on 12 August 1765

from Shah Alam II, the unfortunate and titular Mughal Emperor of Delhi, the East India Company got a definite legal status in the system of the Mughal Empire. Even in post diwani period the people of Bihar demonstrated their resistance against the British imperialism. During the period when Raja Shitab Rai was the Naib Nazim of Bihar (1766-69), the *zamindars* of Seres and Kotamba (modern Aurangabad) and Maharaja Fatah Sahi of Husainpur (*sarkar* saran), fought against the Company's troops but they ultimately lost against heavy odds. However, the company lost a huge amount owing to these rebellions. Raja Shitab Rai had written to his wakil on 13 March 1768, that owing to the rebellion of Maharaja Fatah Sahi, 9 lakhs of revenue were lost to the English and confusion prevailed throught the Saran district.

A survey of the historical materials leads to certain striking conclusions. At that time *Subah* of Bihar occupied a very strategic position from the point of view of military importance and inland trade. Here is situated Garhi, the gateway to Bengal. The routes to Orissa passed through Chotianagpur plateau of Bihar. Communication with Bengal and Orissa was possible only through *Sarkar* Tirhut, and the roads to Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet. Kokrah lay in the south in subah Bihar, generally described as Jharkhand. The drainage system of the territory of Bihar was quite satisfactory. All its rivers were perennial which were source of irrigation. The important rivers were flowing in the region such as the Ganges, Son, Gandak, Burhi Gandak etc. These served as important trade routes as well. Important towns and manufacturing centres were situated on the banks of these rivers for instances, Patna, Hajipur, Chapra and Monghyr etc.

The imperial dictates had been effective in Bihar ever since the establishment of Mughal sway despite changes of *subahdars*, the policy of the Central

government had always attempted at centralisation. The conquest of Palamau in 1661 under the commandership of Daud Khan Quraishi, then governor of Bihar offered incentives towards the further expansion of the Mughal Empire during the reign of Aurangzeb. The support and cooperation provided by the local zamindars of Bihar in the said conquest was also remarkable one.

Throughout the reign of Aurangzeb and his successors most of the governors of Bihar were men of great repute and closely related to the court. But the fact remains that they hardly took any real interest in the general betterment and prosperity of its people and their life.

The basic administrative pattern had been laid down by Akbar which continued with some modifications during the reign of Aurangzeb and his successors.

The *zamindars* occupied a crucial position in rural society of Bihar. The main feature of the *zamindari* system of this region was that *zamindars* of particular castes had a large concentration in a prticular *sarkar*, for example, the Hindu chiefs and Raja viz. the Ujjainiya *zamindars* of Bhojpur and Rajas of Kharagpur and Gidhaur in *sarkar* Monghyr. Raja Sunder Singh of Tikari, Pahalwan Singh of Bhojpur, Bishun Singh of Siris and Kotamba and Rajas of Bettiah. No prominent Muslim *zamindar* excepting Namdar Khan (a powerful Mayi Chief of Narhat Samai in *Sarkar* Bihar) is said to have reported because the Rajput and Brahmin *zamindars* particularly, dominated the whole province. But they were so narrowly divided among themselves that they were incapable to resist the Mughal army and eventually, they became an ally of the Mughals and also paid tribute to the Central exchequer. But whenever they got an opportunity and a crisis developed in that part, they combined with the

rebels and challanged the Mughal Governors of Bihar and Nawabs of Bengal. Particularly, the Ujjainiya Rajas of Bhojpur and Shahabad perpetually defied the imperial authority and it was difficult to subjugate them wholly. This was rendered possible because of the hardy and turbulent character of its inhabitants. The topography of the region was of special advantage to them. The entry of the Ujjainiya Rajputs from Malwa into Bhojpur introduced a new element into the fighting class here and they posed themselves a rallying point against the Mughal rule in Bihar.

Economically, this region was quite prosperous. During the 17th century ad first half of the 18th century it was not only a centre of inter-provincial trade, but of international trade, Asiatic, African and European as well. It was connected with Agra, Allahabad and Banaras on the west by river and land-routes and so with the general system of overland traffic to central Asia, west Asia and Africa etc. It lay on the route from Agra to Chatgaon, the port of Bengal, and was connected with other ports of Bengal, like Tanda (i.e. Gaur), Hugli, Kasimbazar, etc. It also traded with Orissa, including Puri and Balasore. Thomas Bowrey did not exaggerate the commercial importance of Patna when he observed that this was "a country of very great traffic and commerce, and is really the great gate that opened into Bengal and Orissa and consequently into most parts of India[1]". In fact, Bihar during the seventeenth century exported many articles such as, saltpetre, cotton-cloth especially a superior grade of white cloth, silk manufactures etc. to neighbouring countries and European markets too. This period witnessed the real beginning of the large scale commerce with Europe which was a result of the English and Dutch enterprise. It was the lure

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1. Thomas Bowrey (1669-79) *A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. R.C. Temple London, 1905, pp.221-22.

of trade profits which attracted the English to Bihar in the middle of the 17th century -- the statistics of the period testify to the fact.

No metamorphosis, so far our sources inform us, operated upon the social structure of Mughal Bihar in the second half of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century. It had a traditional and rigid social structure centred on the caste-system. But at the same time, their cultural heritage continued without any interruption.

Thus, viewed as a whole, inspite of incessant political turmoils in the region the second half of seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century of Mughal rule in Bihar was a period of immense importance. There was peace and security in the province. The Dutch and English Commerce brought new wealth and resources to the country. But neither the well-organized government nor commercial prosperity could able to create favourable circumstances which might lead to the further stability and prosperity of the province.

APPENDIX - A

CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE GOVERNORS OF BIHAR UNDER THE MUGHALS, 1658 - 1765 A.D.

Sr. No.	Name	Rank (mansab) zat - sawar	Duration	Deputy Governor
1.	Daud Khan Quraishi	5000/4000 (2000 do aspa seh aspa)	1659-1664	-
2.	Lashkar Khan	3000/2500	1664-1668	-
3.	Ibrahim Khan	5000/5000	1668-1673	-
4.	Amir Khan Mir Miran	4000/3000	1673-1676	-
5.	Tarbiyat Khan Birlas	4000/4000	1676/1677	-
6.	Prince Mohammad Azam	--	1677-1678	-
7.	Saif Khan	2500/1500	1678/1680	-
8.	Safi Khan	300/1200	1680-1682	-
9.	Buzurg Ummed Khan	5500/1900	1682-1694	-
10.	Mukhtar Khan Qamruddin	2000/2000	1694-1694	-
11.	Fedai Khan	2500/2500 500 Unconditional	1695-1702	-
12.	Shamsher Khan Qureshi	--	1702-1703	-
13.	Prince Azim-ush-Shan	12000/8000 (2000 do aspa seh aspa)	1703-1707	Murshid Quli Khan, Sarbuland Khan
14.	Syed Husain Ali Khan (Defacto)	-	1708-1710	Syed Husain Ali

Sr. No.	Name	Rank (mansab) zat - sawar	Duration	Deputy Governor
15.	Farrukhsiyar	-	1710-1712	Imtiyaz Khan, Syed Husain (Khalis)
16.	Syed Husain Ali Khan	-	1712	Sarbuland Khan
17.	Ghairat Khan	-	1712-1715	Mir Jumla
18.	Mutamadul Mulk	-	1715-1716	Murshid Quli Khan
	Mir Jumla (in absentia)	-		Mohd. Qaim Bakhshi
19.	Sarbuland Khan	-	1716-1718	Asghar Khan
20.	Khan Zaman Khan	-	1718-8 June 1720	Asghar Khan
21.	Syed Nusrat Yar Khan Bareha	-	1720-1721	Abdul Fattah
22.	Mir Jafar Aqidat Khan	-	1721-1726	Mirza Ibrahim Nawab Marhammat Khan (died soon) His brothers Hadi Khan and Baqar Ali Khan governed as *naib*)
23.	Nawab Fakhru'd Daula	-	1727-33	-
24.	Prince Mirza Ahmad (future emperor Ahmed Shah)	- -	1733	Mohd. Shujauddin and Alivardi Khan
25.	Bihar as an appanage of Bengal (1733) Shujauddin Mohd. Khan of Bengal (in absentia)	-	1733-1739	Alivardi Khan
26.	Nawab Sarfaraz Khan Haidar Jang (in absentia)	-	1739-1740	Alivardi Khan
27.	Nawab Alivardi Khan (in absentia)	-	1740-1756	Haibat Jang (1740-48) Hidayat Ali Khan
28.	Nizamat of Bihar conferred on Siraju'd Daula	-	1756	Raja Janki Ram (1748-52)

Sr. No.	Name	Rank (mansab) zat - sawar	Duration	Deputy Governor
29.	Nawab Siraju'd Daula	-	1756-57	Raja Ram Narayan (1752-63)
30.	Nawab Mir Jafar (absentee) His son Miran served as Nazim of Bihar.	-	1757-1760	-
31.	Nawab Mir Qasim of Bengal	-	1760-64	-
32.	Mir Jafar	-	1764-65	Mir Mohd Kazim brother of Mir Jafar
33.	Najmu'd Daula	-	1765	Raja Shitab Rai Last *Naib Nazim* (1766).

APPENDIX - B

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF SOME DISTINGUISHED GOVERNORS OF BIHAR

1. Daud Khan Quraishi (1659 - 64)

Daud Khan Quraishi was the first *subahdar* of Bihar appointed by Aurangzeb after his accession to the throne in 1659[1]. He belonged to a Quraishi family of Hisar-i-Feroza where his ancestors, after migrating from Mecca had settled[2]. Daud Khan's father was Bhikhan Khan, who served under Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, a noble man in the reign of Jahangir[3]. Bhikan Khan was later on killed in the battle of Dholpur, fighting in the army of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi.

After the death of his father, Daud Khan entered the service of Prince Dara Shikoh, and gained his confidence by dint of his soldierly qualities. In the 30th regnal year of Shahjahan was appointed to the *faujdari* of Mathura, Mahaban, Jalesar and some other *mahals* that had been transferred to the jagir of Dara Shikoh on the death of Sadullah Khan. He was further given the charge of the imperial highway between Agra and Delhi, and a force of 2,000 horsemen was placed under his command. In

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1. *Alamgirnama*, p.286.
2. S.A. Rauf, A family Bayaz of Nawab Daud Khan *subahdar* Bihar, *Ma'arif*, Azamgarh, Vol.40, 1937, p.272. One of his ancestor Shaikh Mohammad Razi, an Abbasi Alavi Shaikh of Mecca, had migrated to Kabul in 1523 and joined the army of Babar, but returned to Kabul, leaving his sons in India. His son Qazi Mohammad Razi began to live at Hisar-i-Feroza.
3. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.II, p.32.

the same year at the recommendation of Dara Shikoh, the title of 'Khan' was conferred on him[1].

In the war of succession that ensued among the sons of Shahjahan in 1658, Daud Khan fought for Dara Shikoh, and in his support he remained throughout the period the most determined and unflinching loyalist. He joined Dara Shikoh at Multan and obeyed all the commands issued to him to oppose Aurangzeb. But he realised that his master could not save himself, leave alone regain the lost power. All his strategy failed and all his calculation went against him[2]. It was here on 27 September 1658 that Daud Khan with others deserted Dara Shikoh[3], and set out to his home at Hisar-i-Feroza via Jesalmir where shortly afterwards became mentally reconciled to Aurangzeb. The news of his desertion delighted Aurangzeb beyond measure, and he lost no time in winning over this high-spirited and capable general to his side. He soon sent to him robes of honour on 10 November 1658 and in response to this favour Daud Khan came to Delhi to pay his homage to the new Emperor. He was rewarded with a robe of honour, a sword and *mansab* of 4,000/3,000[4]. He accompanied Aurangzeb in his operations against Shuja and fought with great ability and dash in the battle of Khajwa. He proved himself ageneral of resource and dash. Shuja was routed and fled from the field[5]. Aurangzeb deputed a strong force under the supreme command of his son Muhammad Sultan in the pursuit of Prince Shuja, alongwith Daud Khan and Mir Jumla and other famous generals[6]. On 15 January 1659 Daud

1. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, p.33.
2. For details, *Alamgirnama*, pp.84-85, 94-105, 107, 120, 125.
3. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp.10-11, 16. *Alamgirnama*, p.221.
4. *Alamgirnama*, pp.230-31.
5. Ibid. pp.244, 265.
6. Ibid. pp.266, 269.

Khan received an imperial *farman* that after reaching Patna he should take charge of the Government of Bihar[1]. He was further granted an increment in his rank of 4,000/ 3,000 by 1,000 *do aspa seh aspa*.

The appointment of Daud Khan as *subahdar* of Bihar must have been made on some weighty grounds, also to trust the charge of such a province, which was in the throes of political convulsion, at a time when Aurangzeb was not yet securely seated in his saddle and to a man who had shortly before been hostile to him was seemingly a risky step. The main determining factor which influenced the decision of the emperor was outstanding personality of Daud Khan himself. A gallant warrior and competent organizer, Daud Khan combined the qualities of administration, uprightness and zeal for a case. These merits of his character compelled Aurangzeb to gain the support of Daud Khan by employing him to important assignments, with both civil and military. In view of his administrative experience, organizing capacity, matchless valour and integrity of purpose, Daud Khan was considered the most suitable to govern Bihar, now in the grip of instability and uncertainty. And it will be noted that he proved worthy of the task entrusted to him.

The main achievement of Daud Khan lies in the conquest of Palamau and its annexation to the Mughal empire. This raised his prestige and status in the government and he came to be ranked among the most leading peers of the state. It was in this campaign that he exhibited a remarkable measure of that material spirit, intrepidity, quick decision and ability of leadership which characterised his future enterprises in the Deccan and won him a permanent place in the history of Aurangzeb's

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1. Ibid. p.286.

reign. In addition, he gained the confidence and favour of Aurangzeb by suppressing the disturbances raised by the zamindar of Morang (the Nepal terai area, bordering the modern Purnea district of Bihar), and was consequently rewarded with a necklace of pearless worth Rs.50,000/-[1]

There is a large coloured picture on a sheet depciting the fort of Palamau, horrible scene of the battle, and organisation of the armies preserved at public library Gaya[2] which add new information to the details regarding the conquest of Palamau. He founded the township of Daudnagar in Gaya district where the descendants of the family lived till much later times. He selected a site near the old village of Anchha on the bank of the Sone river in the Gaya district, to establish a post with a view to protecting the road from robbers who infested the jungle in that vicinity[3]. He was granted as *altamgha* four thousand *bighas* of lands in *Pargana* Anchha by an imperial *farman* of Aurangzeb and renewed and confirmed by his successors for the rehabilitation of the newly founded township of Daudnagar, which became a permanent home of his family[4].

He was also possessing a keen interest in the constructive activities. In 1661, he constructed two mosques outside and within the Palamau fort. Tavernier

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1. Q. Ahmad, Origin and Growth of Darbhanga Raj (1574-1666), *IHRC*, Vol.XXVI, 1961, p.89-98. This information is given in a rare letter of Aurangzeb addressed to Lashkar Khan, *Subahdar* of Bihar (1664-68). For details see above article.
2. S.A. Rauf, Nawab Daud Khan Subahdar Bihar, *Ma'arif*, 1937. pp.279-81.
3. S.M. Nasir Bilgrami, *Tarikh-i-Daudia*, Aini Press, Allahabad, p.110.
4. S.A. Rauf, Nawab Daud Khan Subahdar of Bihar, *Ma'arif*, 1937, pp.373-76. Cf. L.S.S. O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers*, Gaya, Patna, 1919, Vol.29, pp.28-29, 235.

furnishes us a significant information that he halted at 'Daudnagar Sarai' on 18 December 1665. He also found there a fine beautiful tomb[1]. It clearly reveals Daud's interest for the cause of public welfare too.

Unfortunately no record has been found of any charge of improvement in the administration of the province introduced by Daud Khan Quraishi. A stone slab has been preserved on a building in the Khwaja Kalan Police Station of patna city, which points to the erection of a court of justice, called 'Dar-ul-Adl', by one of his officer, Jafar Khan in 1663. The text has been read as follows :-

> "Fo rendering justice and giving succour to the weak from the strong hands of the oppressors, this court of justice was built by Jafar Khan, the servant of Daud Khan in A.H. 1074 (1663-64)."[2]

It commemorates the regime of Daud Khan marked by justice and secular character. It is possible that he may have had other similar building erected under his order in other important places in the province of Bihar. He continued in his office as *subahdar* of Bihar till some months in 1664, when he was succeeded by Lashkar Khan[3].

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1. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Vol.I, p.99.
2. Q. Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar*, Patna, 1973, pp.271-72.
3. Afterwards, he was appointed as governor of Khandesh and accompanied Mirza Raja Jai Singh in an expedition against Shivaji. He took an active part in the storming and capture Purandhar and Rudrmal forts. Subsequently in 1668, he sent to Deccan to cooperate in punishing Adil Shah of Bijapur. In 1669, he was appointed to the governorship of Berar and was honoured by the bestowal of a robe of honour, a jewelled scinitar, a horse with gold trappings, together with

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2. Lashkar Khan (1664 - 1668)

His real name was Yadgar Beg, and he was the son of Zabardast Khan, an important grandee and body guard of Shahjahan. He entered the royal service some time before 1646, because we find him in 1646 holding the post of superintendent of mace-bearers (*Darogha-i-Gurz bardaran*) and of the *naqdi* (cash pay holder) officers, with a *mansab* of 1000/200. In recognition of his services he was later promoted to the rank of 1500/300, and honoured with the title of Jan Nisar Khan[1]. In 1647 he was sent to Persia as an especial envoy of Shahjahan, with a letter of condolence on the death of Shah Safavi. He also carried with him costly presents, worth of three and a half lakhs of rupees, to offer to Shah Abbas II, on his succession to the throne of the Safavi Empire[2]. He returned from Persia in 1649 and in the same year took charge of the office of the Master of the Horse and promoted to the rank of 2,000/700, and in the following year, 1650, he became *Mir Tuzuk* at the royal Court. In 1653 he was appointed as *mir bakhshi* of Prince Dara Shikoh's army when it was despatched on the Qandhar expedition. In 1654 he was recalled to the court and given charge of

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and promoted to the rank of 5,000/4,000, 3,000 of whom were to be *do aspa* and *seh aspa*. None of the contemporary chronicles furnish the date of Daud Khan's death. His son, Hamid Khan was appointed *faujdar* of Bhojpur in 1682.
See, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.II, p.36.
Alamgirnama, pp.917, 975, 986-88, 1033.
Ma'asir-i-Alamgir, pp.51, 102, 110, 177-78.

1. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, p.168.
2. *Badshahnama*, Vol.II, pp.492-500.
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol.I, p.620.
Cf. B.P. Sexana, *History of Shahjahan of Delhi*, p.221.

second *bakhshi*. But some time afterwards he was removed from the office on charges of embezzlement and by way of penalty his rank was reduced to 500[1]. It was a serious setback in his promising official career.

In 1657 his star of luck once more brightened when he was made the governor of Kashmir and his original *mansab* was restored. During the reign of Aurangzeb, he rose to greater prominence and fame, holding the *subadari* of Multan in 1658, and of Sindh in 1660, and commanding the *mansab* of 3,000/2,500. He continued to maintain this position of power and trust till in 1664 he was sent to Patna to take charge of the government of Bihar[2].

Bernier, who travelled in the Mughal Empire and visited Patna as well says :

> "Laskhar Ken as governor of Patna or Beara, has 8 *sarkars* and 245 *parganas*, yeilding Rs.95,80,000."[3]
>
> Tavernier describes Lashkar Khan as !
>
> "a Venerable man of 80 years, who commanded the rank of 5,000 or 6,000 horse."[4]

He also tells us an interesting story of a certain Brahmins who came to Patna and gathered a crowd of the townsmen. he made a speech before them and asked to offer

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1. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, p.170.
2. *Alamgirnama*, pp.877, 927, 972.
   Ma'asir-ul-Umara, Vol.III, p.171.
3. Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, tr. A. Constable New Delhi, 1968, pp.186, 457.
4. Tavernier, *Travels in India* (1641-1667) Vol.II, ed. W. Crooke, New Delhi, 1977, p.172.

a sum of Rs.2,000, and 27 cubits of cloth. Then he climbed up a tree and seated himself on a forked branch where he remained for a period of thirty days without eating and drinking, being continously watched by nearly hudred men, day and night. Struck by this rare feat of the sufferance, the people felt compelled to pay what he had demanded of them. The French traveller took pains to ascertain the truth but ascribed the performance to 'the work of the devil[1].' Another incident recorded by him throws some light on the accessibility of the supreme executive to the masses as well as on their manners and customs. Tavernier writes that 'a strange occurence happend one day before my presence at Patna. I was with the Dutch at the house of the Governor of the town, named Lashkar Khan when a young and very beautiful woman, scarely more than twenty two years of age, entered the reception room and with a firm and resolute voice required the governor's permission to burn herself with the body of her deceased husband. The sought to turn her from her resolution. But she protested 'I do not fear fire any way and to make you sure to it is so you have only to order a well lighted torch to be brough here.' The governor horrified at the language of the woman, but some of his young nobles forced him to test the woman. But as soon as she saw the torch she ran infront of it, held her hand firmly in the flame without the least grimace, and pushed her arm up to the elbow till it was immediately schorched. This caused a horror to all who witnessed the deed and the governor commanded the woman to be taken away from his presence.[2]

In 1668 Lashkar Khan was transferred from Bihar and to Multan, and in 1670,

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1. *Travels In India*, Vol.II, pp.173-74.
2. *Travels In India*, Vol.II, p.172.

he was appointed as *mir bakhshi* on the death of Danishmand Khan[1]. The author of *Maasir-ul-Umara* informs us that he passed away at the end of 1671[2].

3. Ibrahim Khan (1668 - 1673)

He was the eldest son of the celebrated Amir-ul-Umara Ali Mardan Khan, who belonged to a Kurdish tribe of Persia. Probably he enrolled himself in the royal court of Shahjahan before 1653 because in the same year he received the title of Khan as a mark of favour so he must have been in service since long. In 1657, he held the mansab of 4,000/3,000. He fought in the army of Dara Shikoh against Aurangzeb in the battle of Samugarh. After the defeat of royal forces, Ibrahim Khan joined Murad Baksh, the fourth contender in the war of succession. He served him whole heartedly till Prince Murad was taken into custody by Aurangzeb[3].

Khafi Khan writes that when Prince Murad was arrested Ibrahim Khan rubbed his forehead in shame and paid homage to him[4]. But Manucci says that Ibrahim Khan had also warned Murad Bakhsh against trusting Aurangzeb before his treacherous death[5]. Khafi Khan further informs that Ibrahim Khan resigned but the version of Shah Nawab Khan is different who writes that for some reasons he was deprived of his service and allowed a yearly pension of Rs.5,000[6].

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1. *Ma'asir-i-alamgiri*, p.105.
2. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, p.171.
3. For details, see, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, III, pp.295-98, 795-807.
4. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol.II, p.39.
5. Manucci, *Storia, do Mogor (1653-1708)*, Vol.I, p.301.
6. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol.II, p.41.
   Ma'asir-ul-Umara, Vol.I, p.298.
   Alamgirnama, p.158.

After eclipse, however, the star of his fortune again shone when he was appointed governor of Kashmir in 1660 with a rank of 5,000/5,000[1]. Later he was made governor of Lahore.

In the 11th regnal year of Aurangzeb, 1668, he was given the charge of administration of the *subah* Bihar. He had a long tenure of office in Bihar than his predecessors[2].

During his tenure Bihar witnessed a severe famine which raged from october 1670 to November 1671[3]. The famine occured on account of drought, resulting in complete failure of crops[4]. De Graaf who was present in Patna in 1670, has left a very pathetic account of the ravages done by this famine. According to him people died in large numbers and corpses lay on roads, in streets and in the market places because no body cared to remove them from those places. Thomas Bowrey has also depicted a similar picture[5]. John Marshall, in the course of his journey from Hugli to Patna witnessed the terrible effects of the famine[6]. The foreign accounts unanimously place the responsibility of the unprecedented sufferings and woes of the people at the doors of the governor and his officers who did not strive to save the poor and helpless from starvation and disease during the famine, although the government stores were

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1. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, p.298.
2. Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, p.71.
3. John Marshall, *Notes and Observations in Bengal*, (1668-72) ed. S.A. Khan London, 1927, pp.149-52.
4. De Graaf, *Voyages*, p.67.
5. Thomas Bowrey, *A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, (1669-70), ed. R.C. Temple, London, 1905, p.226.
6. John Marshall, op.cit. p.150.

full with food grains at that time. But their account of the situation seems exaggerated, coloured by deep prejudice, rather hostility, which these foreign diarists, merchants by profession, bore against the provincial government. Actuated by motives of profits these merchants were unwilling either to pay custom duties or submit to laws and regulations operating in localities where they carried their trade. This biased description of the miserable conditions undergone by the people during the period of famine can be modified by a careful perusal of contemporary chronicles which contain sufficient evidence to suggest that the Mughal Emperor did take up relief measures to redress the pain and hardship of the common men by providing money and food and clothing to them. However, it might be admitted that a slackness in the central department of *Wizarat* had come in as a result of the negligence of its head who could take steps to combat the calamity. Since the death of Jafar Khan in 1670, no noble had been appointed to lead the department for six years. The Emperor was distracted by the offensive launched by Shivaji after his escape from Agra in 1666, and supervision of the wazir's office further added to the burden of his administrative duties. Thus it was during this period, 1670-76, that the famine occured and raged, causing misery and devastation in the province of Bihar. This combination of circumstances led to the weakening of Central control over the provincial administration.

Thomas Bowrey holds Ibrahim's chief wife, the daughter of Mirza yahya, son of Saif Khan Qazwini for the tragic consequences of the famine. She had under her control large store-houses, but refused to sell any quantity of grain unless it was

weighed against silver coins[1]. But its editor R.C. Temple, remarks, "I have been unable to find any allusion to the action of the *'Nobob's* chief wife as related by Thomas Bowrey".

During his regime the saltpetre trade in Patna and its adjoining place florished satisfactorily[2]. There is nothing of importance on record to mention about this governor's rule in Bihar. In 1678 Ibrahim Khan sent to Kashmir and after that, he came to Bengal which he governed from 1689-97[3]. The English factors called him 'the most famously just and good Nobob[4]'. Later he served in the same position in the provinces of Allahabad, Lahore, Kashmir and Gujarat. During the reign of Bahadur Shah I (1707-12) Ibrahim Khan was appointed as governor of Afghanistan but he could not administer it effectively due to his old age and retired to his native country Ibrahimabad Sodhara about 30 *Kos* from Lahore and died there within a short period[5].

4. Prince Muhammad Azam (1677- 78)

Prince Muhammad Azam was the third son of Aurangzeb, and his mother was Dilras Banu, an Iranian Princess. He was born in 1653, five years before his father's accession. His real younger brother was Prince Muhammad Akbar who had

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1. Thomas Bowrey, *A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal* (1669-79) ed. R.C. Temple, London, 1905,p.227.
2. N.N. Ray, *The Annals of the Early English Settlement in Bihar*, p.84.
3. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp.163, 236.
   Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p.324.
4. *The Annals of the Early English Settlement in Bihar*, p.97.
5. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, p.300.

fled to Persia after his abortive revolt in 1680-81[1].

On 14 April 1677 Prince Muhammad A'zam was appointed governor of Bihar, with a grant of five crore *dams* in *in'am* (reward); though he arrived in Patna on 24 July 1677 to assume the charge of his office. The tenure of his office, like that of his predecessor, was both brief and eventless. He was soon transferred to Bengal where he stayed as its governor till 1679[2]. He was recalled in 1679 to aid his father in the Rathor rebellion and joined there on 16 December, 1679.

Thereafter, he commanded an independent army in Rajputana and the Deccan, being his father's right hand man in these wars, as Prince Muazzam, his brother was too tame in spirit and a failure in all his military undertakings.

5. Buzurg Ummed Khan (1682 - 1694)

Buzurg Ummad Khan was the third son of Nawab Shaista Khan, the uncle of Aurangzeb, and a veteran noble of the realm[3]. In the war of succession Buzurg Ummed Khan fought in the army of Aurangzeb against Dara Shikoh, and for his

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1. In his childhood he had been petted by his aunt Raushan Ara, and after his mariage in 1669 with Prince Dara Shikoh's daughter, Jahanzeb Banu he became the favourite of his other aunt, Jahan Ara who had brought up his wife as her foster child. Aurangzeb, too liked him above his other sons, for his manliness, courage, intelligence and power of command. It seems that Aurangzeb throughout life showed marks of exceptional love to this couple and to their eldest son Bidar Bakhat, a gallant, discreet, and ever successful general, on all three of whom he used to lavish his fits. He probably hoped thus to atone for his cruelty to his murdered elder brother, Dara Shikoh.
2. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp.157, 161.
   Storia Do Mogor, Vol.II, p.394.
3. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, p.742.

distinguished performance he received the title of Khan, and in 1664 his rank was raised to 4,000/1,000. On his conquest of Chittogong, which was in the possession of *zamindar* of Arakan, Ummed Khan was honoured by an addition of 1500/900 to his rank[1].

Regarding the date of Ummed Khan's appointment to the post of the governorship of Bihar there is difference between the evidence given by Shahnawaz Khan and that contained in the *Akhbarat*. According to the author of *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Buzurg Ummed Khan was appointed subahdar of Allahabad in the 36th regnal year, 1692-93 and soon afterward he became the governor of Bihar, and died in 38th regnal year, 1105/1693-94. But an entry dated 6 May 1682 informs us about an attempt made by Shaista Khan to get his son appointed as the *subahdar* of Bihar. It states that on the occasion of Ganga Ram's rebellion in Bihar, Shaista Khan reported to the Emperor Aurangzeb about some of the preventive measures made by him, including the deputation of Buzurg Ummed Khan to Bihar with 2,000 strong men, as desired by the Emperor. But Shaista Khan went on to write, in a rather presumptuous and informal manner, that the Emperor had appointed such worthless persons to the post of (governorship of Bihar) that they could not cope with such emergencies. It was advisable, he added, the *subahdari* of Bihar be conferred on Buzurg Ummed Khan and Safi Khan be appointed as *subahdar* of Orissa. The entry concludes with the remarks that the Emperor read the report and kept quiet. This interesting information shows that attempts were being made, at least from the middle

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1. *Alamgirnama*, p.940.
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol.II, p.188. According to Khafi Khan, a large *pargana* in the Baqar Ganj district isnamed Buzurgummedpur.

of 1682, to get Buzurg Ummed Khan appointed to the post of *subahdari* of Bihar. The efforts did not take long to succeed, for we find that a *farman* was issued in August 1682, addressed to Shaista Khan, regarding the appointment of Buzurg Ummed Khan, who assumed charge of his new office in Bihar in December 1682. It is clear from another entry in the *Akhbarat*, dated December 1682, which records a petition from Buzurg Ummed Khan, the *subahdar* of Bihar, that he had reached there and devoted himself to the task of settlement of revenues and that same zamindars had not paid their dues since the last year, but by the grace of the Emperor's fortune he would subdue them.

The correct information about him in the semi-official contemporary history, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, which says that Buzurg Ummed Khan was transferred from Bihar to Allahabad on 5 July, 1692, a little later it states that Buzurg Ummed Khan, the *subahdar* of Bihar died on 13 February, 1695, that Aitqad Khan and Abul Maali, brother of the deceased, were offered robes of mourning and that Fidai Khan, *subahdar* of Allahabad, was transferred to Bihar[1].

However, he governed the *subah* of Bihar for a long spell, from the end of 1682 to the end of 1694. Though a vigorous and efficient administrator, Ummed Khan was rigid and uncompromising in his views and dealings with other officers and nobles in the province. He often fell out with the provincial *diwan* who was the supreme finance officer, responsible for his acts to the central government alone. For example, he clashed with Mirza Mu'iz Fitrat, the *diwan* of Bihar. Mirza Mu'iz Fitrat was the son-in-law of Shah Nawaz Khan Safavi, and a poet and learned scholar.

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1. Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, pp.348, 369.

Shah Nawaz Khan tells an interesting story of their clash which reflects the delicacy of sophistication of mind and cultured manner of the nobles of those days[1]. Shah Nawaz Khan tells that on the very first day taking charge of his office Mirza Mu'iz went to the governor's house and put his hands and rinsed his mouth in a small water-basin that stood in the portico. The water of the basin which was flowing thus became polluted. This uncivilized act of the *diwan* proved galling to the governor who immediately reported the matter to the royal court, recommending his removal[2].

Another news-letter dated 19 March 1685, refers to his clash with Mir Munir the *diwan* of Bihar. It informs that the Emperor reprimanded the governor on his interference within the work of the *diwan*. But it produced no effect in the behaviour of Ummed Khan for we find him continually quarrelling with his *diwans* in subsequent year like Mir Kalan, and Muhammad Sadiq. His close relationship with the Emperor and constant intervention by his father, Shaista Khan, saved him from the ultimate ruin which had been the fate of some other governors under similar circumstances.

He had constructed a mosque in Nagla, Patna city. The mosque now is in ruins. But garden and a graveyard attached to it are still found and there, according to local tradition Buzurg Ummed Khan is buried here.

An inscription at the central entrance in the facade of the mosque, in the form of Persian couplet records the date of its construction by Buzurg Ummed Khan as 1100/1688-89[3]. The composer of the chronogram was some one poetically surnamed

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1. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, p.454.
2. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, p.454.
3. Syed Mohammad, Old Muslim Inscription of Patna, *JBORS*, 1930, pp.354-355.

Najaf. The translation of the text is as follows:-

1. Buzurg Ummed Khan, the dignified Khan, whose generosity is known to all the peoples (*Khalq*). of the world.

2. As Najaf sought from the Angel the date (of his Mosque's construction) it immediately replied, 'May it be the abode of rectitude' 1100 (1688-89).

A Mohalla, called Katra-i-Shaista Khan, still exists, and a mosque was built by a *nazir* of Shaista Khan in the same year 1100, which stands to the west of Buzurg Ummed Khan's mosque. All this indicates that members of the families of Shaista Khan and his son, probably, lived around the area. When Buzurg Ummed Khan passed away in early 1695, he was in all probability, laid to eternal rest in the graveyard of the mosque built by him.

6. Prince Azim-ush-Shan (1703 - 1707)

Prince Muhammad 'Azim alias Azim-ush-Shan was a son of Aurangzeb's eldest son, Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahadur Shah. He was born in 1664 from a Rajput princess, daughter of Rup Singh Rathor[1]. Prince Azim got married in 1677 with the daughter of Kerat Singh, who received as *Jahez* or dowry Rs.63,000, jewlleries, one *palki*, five *dulis* with embroidered and jewelled pillows[2]. His second marriage took place in 1692 with a daughter of Ruh-Allah Khan, an important noble of the court.

Azim was appointed viceroy of Bengal, including Kuch Bihar in 1697[3], and in 1703the *subah* of Bihar was added to his administrative charge[4]. He received

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1. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p.49.
2. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p.167.
3. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p.387. *Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chaghtai*, fol.295a-b.
4. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p.470.

a sudden increase in his rank by 1,200/8000 (2,000 *do aspa* and a grant of 40 lakhs *dams* as *in'am*. When the viceroyalty of Bihar was also given to him he was granted an increase of 1 crore 40 lakhs *dams* out of 80 lakhs were allotted to Shahabad and 80lakhs to Palamau as his *jagir*.

The author of *Riyaz-us-Salatin* writes that Prince Azim-ush-Shan preferred to establish at Patna the seat of his government due to its good and healthy climate, situated on the bank of the river Ganges. Aurangzeb approved of his proposal to rehabilitate the city of Patna and accordingly he named it Azimabad after himself, and built there a fort with a strong rampart,[1] the local traditions also corroborates it.[2]

Prince Azim successfully suppressed the rebellion of Rahim Shah, an Afghan *zamindar* of Bengal and the districts of Bardwan, Hugli and Jassore were made cleansed from the Afghan raiders. After the victory Prince halted in the fort of Burdwan which was a residency of the *faujdars* of that district and there he laid the foundations of various buildings and erected a mosque, near Hugli, he founded a township, Shahganj and named it Azimganj. He was a *hafiz* of the 'Holy Quran', and he patronised the learned scholars and theologians, and often discussed with them subjects of religion.

He held in high esteem the learned and noble sought their advice on measures and methods to promote the welfare of the people. He was devoted to Shaikh Baiyazid, a renowned saint of Burdwan[3].

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1. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p.252.
2. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol.XI, district Patna, p.69.
3. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, pp.244-46.

During his stay at Decca he gave up the old style of living maintained by his ancestors, as he began to wear coloured and painted clothes. Moreover, he started private trade in the products of the land by monopolising its sale, and gave it the name of *sauda-i-khas*[1]. By this practice he amassed huge wealth which excited the jealousy of other princes and nobes who prejudiced the Emperor against him. Taking advantage of his greed for money the English applied to the Prince for the purchase of *zamindari* rights of the three villages, Govindapur, Sutanuti and Kalikata (Calcutta) and the same were obtained by them in lieu ofRs.16,000 in 1698[2]. When Aurangzeb heard about these affairs through news writers, he was greatly annoyed with him. In one of his letters to him he wrote that it was not proper to be careless in the conduct of administration and oppressive towards the helpless and poor because it leads to ruination of the Kingdom[3].

He then writes that, when did you learn these preculiar habits which was neither practised by your grandfather nor your father. It is better to eradicate these foolish habits from your mind. I always considered you better than other princes (i.e. my sons and grandsons) and I thought you to be a future king. "What we think proves to be false (or contrary i.e. man proposes, God disposes")[4]. Again from one of the letter of Aurangzeb, it seems that probably once prince Azim started selling and

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1. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p.247. According to its author "all the goods which arrived on board the mercantile ships at the port of Chittagang etc., were bought up on behalf of the Prince, and were termed as *Sauda-i-Khas*, afterwards those very goods were re-sold to the merchants of Bengal and called as *Sauda-i-Am*.
2. C.R. Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol.I, p.150.
3. Aurangzeb frequently used to give advices to Princes how to manage the state affairs. He wished to impress upon their minds his standards of Kingly duty for responsibilities of Government.
4. *Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri*, tr. J.H. Bilimoria, letter No.88, p.85.

drinking of toddy (a drink obtained from date trees and palm trees) during his viceroyalty of Bengal and Bihar. So Aurangzeb advised him that you should consider your counsellors as dishonest who gave you such foolish advices. Beware of such men who are the root-cause of ruin to families as enemies of your person and property. You should be thankful to the 'Holy God' that He has bestowed upon you fertile and productive districts where every thing is cheap and abundant. So it is your prime duty to protect the lives and property of the subjects which is the source of happiness in this world and in the next world[1].

So these letters reflects the Prince Azim's character and personality which is a subject of frequent change.

However, he was recalled by the Emperor Aurangzeb and he set out from Patna shortly before the death of Aurangzeb (1707), on his departure, he appointed Sarbuland Khan to work as his *naib* (deputy) in Bihar[2]. He was intending to go Deccan where the Emperor was encamped but during his way he received the news of his grandfather's death. Ultimately turned his journey towards Agra with 20,000 horses and the subahdar of Agra, Mukhtar Khan was made captive and all his belongings were confiscated at once[3].

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1. *Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri*, Letter No.90, p.86.
2. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p.267.
3. Probably due to his efforts and the vast resources he had carried away from Bihar and Bengal that his father, Mu'azzam eventually came out successful in the ensuing fratricidal struggle and ascended the throne under the name of Bahadur Shah (1707-12). During the rule of his father he was appointed as Governor of Bengal and remained till 1712. After the death of Bahadur Shah I, there was a war of succession and Prince Azim-ush-Shan died in fighting and probably his corpse was despatched by his son Farrukh Siyar to Aurangabad

Contd.....2

7. Raja Ram Narayan (1752 - 63)

Raja Ram Narayan played a very important role in the political history of Bihar during the 18th century. He was the son of a Shrivastav Kayastha named Rang Lal, an inhabitant of village Kishunpur in *pargana* sasaram of *sarkar* Shahabad (Bihar)[1]. He was born probably in 1714 or 1719. Rang Lal, the father of Raja Ram Narayan served as *diwan* of Alivardi Khan. So being a member of a well educated and affluent family Ram Narayan got ample opportunity to receive his early education in a proper manner. At that time Persian was the official language as well as medium of instruction, so Ram Narayan got his education accordingly and became well versed in persian and urdu which provided him way to enter into the state services. Later, he politically surnamed 'Mauzun' and recognised as an eminent man of letters among his contemporaries. He was regarded a distinguished Persian poet of his age. He began his career as a clerk in Bihar on Rs.5 per month and was subsequently raised to the private secretaryship of Haibat Jang, the deputy governor of Bihar. While Raja Janki Ram was made *naib nazim* of Bihar (1748-52), Ram Narayan elevated to the post of Diwan of the province. These administrative experiences helped him immensely in his later political career. Haibat Jang got valuable help from him in suppressing the Afghans under the leadership of Mustafa Khan. When Mustafa Khan, the Afghan Commander had in anger resigned the Nawab's service in 1745 and attacked

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Cond. from page.

and he was buried there. After the death of Jahandar Shah (1712-13), Farrukh Siyar, the beloved son of Prince Azim-ush-Shah became the Emperor of Hindustan and ruled till 1719. See, William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol.I, pp.15-16, 176-77.

1. K.K. Datta; op.cit.; p.166..

Patna, Ram narayan fought against him as one of the six commanders[1]. It was due to Kirat Chand and Raja Ram Narayan's tactfulness that Haibat Jang could be saved in a hand to hand fight against Mustafa Khan. However, Haibat Jang was assassinated by the Afghans at Chihil Satun at Patna in 1748. Ram Narayan had a providential escape from this terrible calamity. At the time of the assassination of Haibat Jang, Raja Ram Narayan was working in the accounts office. They were taken unawares and were without arms; they were stripped to the skin and allowed to depart, some wounded and some not[2].

Raja Ram Narayan was a sincere and astute politician. patience and perseverance were the striking features of his character. On the elevation to the post of Deputy Governor of Bihar on 29 January 1752, he was bestowed with a fringed *Palki*, a special robe of honour, gilded head-dress and a sword with enamelled handle. Being an efficient administrator, just after taking over the charge of the province of Bihar, he despatched to the Nawab of Bengal, his master, 4 lakhs of rupees, which he found surplus in the treasury of Raja Janki Ram. He had written a letter to Nawab Alivardi Khan in November 1752 detailing the condition of the province that "by the eternal good fortune of your Excellency, the Government of the country is well ordered and well regulated. The people are enjoying peace and order and are praying for the perpetuation of your Excellency's protection".

Subsequently, when he observed that the government has suffered much loss of revenue due to non-payment of dues by the recalcitrant *zamindars* of Bihar

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1. *Siyar-al-Mutaakherin*, Vol.I, p.449
2. Ibid; Vol.II, p.38.

and even many political adventurer had made their headway to carve some new estates for themselves. Keeping in view the circumstances prevailing Ram Narayan successfully suppressed such powerful and prominent chiefs like Bhojpuria Rajputs of Jagdishpur and Chainpur (sasaram), Kamgar Khan of Narhat and Samoy, Raja Sunder Singh Tikari (Gaya), Bishun Singh of Seres and Kotamba and others who frequently disturbed the peace of the land in the middle of the 18th century in Bihar. The most marked feature of Raja Ram Narayan's political career was his ability and the wisdom he displayed in settling the affairs of the province. Even after battle of Plassey, Ram Narayan's conduct can not in any way be held responsible for the cruel fate that overtook Nawab Siraju'd Daula of Bengal. History is evident; that he remained loyal to the Nawab till the end of his life. It is said that amongst the Hindus whom Alivardi Khan had raised to high posts, Raja Ram Narayan seems to have been the only one whose gratitude had not been enstrangled by the despotic caprices of Siraju'd Daula. He can not be regarded a traitor to the salt he had eaten. It has observed that even after the accession of Mir Jafar on the *masnad* of Bengal, Lord Clive found much interested in Ram Narayan's confirmation to the post and expressed their confidence in his integrity and fidelity.

During the period of Nawab Mir Qasim of Bengal (1760-64) it is recorded that Mir Qasim was not remained happy with Ram Narayan's conduct and endeavoured to remove him due to some grievances against him. Ultimately, Nawab suspended him from his rank and authority as *naib nazim* of the *suba* and Raja Raj Ballav was appointed in his place. After the defeat of the Nawab Mir Qasim's forces at the battles of Suti and Adhuanalla at the hands of the Britishers in 1763; Mir Qasim decided to leave his capital at Monghyr. The Nawab caused Ram Narayan to be

thrown into the river Ganges below Monghyr fort with a pitcher filled with sand and tied to his neck[1]. According to Firminger, Raja Ram Narayan was put in a boat and it is believed that he was drowned on 19 August 1763[2]. Thus ended the career of Raja Ram Narayan, who had played a remarkable role in the history of Bihar during the eighteenth century.

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1. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p.390.
   Siyar-al-Mutaakherin, Vol.II, p.493.
   See also, Thompson and Garrat, op.cit, p.94.
2. Walker K. Firminger, *Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna*, 1763, Calcutta, 1909.

APPENDIX - C

A complete list of administrative divisions (i.e. *Sarkars* and their respective *mahals* (*Parganas*) of *Subah* Bihar as recorded in the collection of contemporary miscellaneous papers (*Kaghzat-i-Mutafarriqa*), based on official figures and documents, British Museum, London, Add. 6586, fols. 98a-101b, assignable to the last years of Aurangzeb's reign, 1707 A.D.

1. *Sarkar Bihar (57 mahals)*

Haveli Bihar	*Haveli* Azimabad
Arwal	Amritu
Asri	Anchha
Angola Waghairah (2 *mahals)*	
Aukhri	Ikhal
Basonk	Parak
Malalun Waghairah (3 *mahals)*	
Balkh	Balia
Behra	Bhilawar
Phulwari	Bist Hazari
Bhimpur	Bikhanpur
Maladwa	Jargawan
Jarrah	Jai Champa

Dadar	Dhakner
Rajgir	Rampur
Ruh	Sandah
Salimabad	Samai
Salot	Noor Mohammad
Samaur	Shahjahanpur
Shahra	Ghyaspur
Qila Deokan (2 *mahals)*	
Kabar	Gidhaur
Godah	Ghatibandah
Ghatisher	Gaya
Maldah	Mandoi Shikampur
Mandoi Sultanpur	Maner
Manaura	Masooda
Wilayat Khokhrah (2 *mahals)*	

2. *Sarkar Tirhut (*97 *mahals)*

Haveli Dharbhanga	Aubhi Hassu
Abhai Chob	Alapur
Akbarpur	Auhargarh

Augharah	Rahas
Ahilwara	Nimrah
Barai	Bahanwar
Pachhim Bhigu	Bachhar
Dharpur Chakeri	Parmal
Borah	Bagda
Bakaria	Barel urf Pindarach
Bochha	Purab Bhigu
Bahadupur	Bhala
Bhadwar	Bharwarah
Bhor	Bihiya
Naiki	Tajpur
Tirhut	Bargaun
Nirmali	Malu Kujawand
Bhagar	Jaghar
Jabdi	Jarail
Hasman	Chakmani
Jahangirabad	Hamidpur
Khalilpur	Dilawarpur

Dahror	Ramchawla
Shakri Waghairah (4 *mahals)*	
Bamrahi Chand	
Bimarsah Waghairah (6 *mahals)*	
Sulaimanabad	Salimpur
Sehwarah	Shahor
Shahjahanpur	Fakhrabad
Farrukhpur	
Karkahla Gaogarh (2 *mahals)*	
Garh Chawangir	Kabad
Kankauli	Gopalpur
Gaur	Koradi
Gomhra	Garh Sandah
Ladwari	Boin
Manor	Chandah
Morwa	Makwan
Tilhi Gopalpur	Mohitpur
Kamtaul Mulki	Mondra Pachauli
Mahed	Mehla

Narand Nagar	Madai
Barangaon	Kumukpur Balhi
Sukhpur Kodah	Nizamuddinpur
Lowan (Lowam)	Mauan
Habi (Hali)	Hati
Harni	

3. *Sarkar Monghyr (40 mahals)*

Haveli Monghyr	Abhaipur
Amlu Motia	Osla
Ahrohi	Tirhut Para - 3 *mahals*
Pashi	Balia
Banor	Bhagalpur
Pharkia	Holkalu
Jamdan	Chandoi
Chandan Khokhrah	Jahangirabad
Chai	Dand Sakhwara
Dharampur	Dhuwaira
Roz Afzun Nagar	Balhari
Sakun	Sakhrabadi

Sakhrasani	Suraj Garh
Harohi	Kajrah
Kajrah	Kordah
Khatki	Kharhi (Garhi)
Kahalgaon	Lakhanpur
Masjidpur	Masdi
Lachha	Hindui
Hazartaki	

4. *Sarkar Champaran (3 mahals)*

Samrun	Majhwa
Mehsi	

5. Sarkar Hajipur (12 mahals)

Haveli Hajipur	Akbarpur
Balagach	Basara
Bhusawi	Rati
Saresa	Imadpur
Garh Samdah	Basha
Milki	Naipur

6. *Sarkar Saran (18 mahals)*

	Haveli Saran	Indar
	Bara	Pal
	Barai	Pachlak
	Charanand	Juwainah
	Begsi	Sipah
	Shahjahanabad	Kasmar
	Kalyanpur	Godah
	Mangjhi	Makha
	Saindhmak	Narhan
7.	*Sarkar Rohtas* (7 *mahals)*	
	Haveli Rohtas	Balaunja
	Japla	Chainpur
	Siris	Sahsaram
	Kautamba	
8.	Sarkar Shahabad (12 mahals)	
	Haveli Shahabad	Arrah
	Baragaon	Panwarah
	Nanor	Bihiya
	Piru	Danwar

	Dinarah			Ratanpur		
	Kot			Sakrur		
Total :-	*Sarkars*	-	8	*mahals*	-	246

APPENDIX - D

LIST OF IMPORTANT FAUJDARS, QALADARS, BAKHSHIS AND DIWANS OF BIHAR UNDER THE MUGHAL RULE

FAUJDARS

Name	Year	Place	Source
Farrukh Khan	1580	Darbhanga	Bihar Through Ages p.491.
Kishwar Khan	1612	Rohtas	Ibid; p.492.
Khwaja Ahmad Samarqandi	1623	Monghyr	B.P. Ambasthya, p.235
Mukhtar Khan	1628	Monghyr	M.U.[1] III, pp.409-13
Shujaat Khan	1628	Tirhut	B.T. p.494
Atish Khan Deccani	1640-43	Bhagalpur	M.U.I, p.89
Khwas Khan Bakhtiyar Deccani	1644-45	Tirhut	M.U.I, pp.774-75
Sazawar Khan Mashhadi	1657-59	Tirhut	M.U.III, pp.557-60 II, 438-41
Abul Maali	1659	Tirhut	M.U. III, p.561
Khwaja Nasir	1659	Rohtas	S.H. Askari's article, I, p.256.
Mirza Khan	1659-64	Darbhanga	Ibid, History of Darbhanga Raj, p.96
Abul Maali	1664-65	Darbhanga	M.U. III, pp.557, 666
Bahadur Khan	1659	Chainpur	S.H. Askari I, p.258.

1. M.U. *Muasir-ul-Umara*

Name	Year	Place	Source
Mukhlis Khan	1659	Saran	S.H. Askari I, p.258
Mangli Khan	1661-66	Palamau	Ibid; A.N.[1] p.972.
Marhamat Khan	1666-67	Arrah	A.N. p.972
Saadat Khan	1664	Shahabad	S.H. Askari, II, pp.56-57
Marun Khan	1664-70	Tirhut	S.H. Askari,II, p.59
Saadat Khan	1666	Arrah	S.H. Askari,II pp.56-57.
Hadi Khan	1670-74	Tirhut and Darbhanga	M.A.[2] p.157
Askar Khan	1670	Arrah	S.H. Askari, II, p.59
Tarbiyat Khan	1677-78	Tirhut and Darbhanga	M.A. p.157, M.U. III p.930
Hamid Khan	1681	Bhojpur	M.A. p.207.
Shaikh Ibrahim	1681	Sasaram	S.H. Askari, III, p.161
Sipahdar Khan	1693	Darbhanga	Ibid, p.165
Ahmad Khan	1694	Arrah	Ibid, p.168
Abul Hasan	1696	Bihar	Ibid, p.169
Mohd. Saleh	1698	Palamau	Ibid, p.169
Fidai Khan	1700	Tirhut and Darbhanga	M.A. P.433 M.U. p.564
Mukhlis Khan	1701	Saran	S.H. Askari III, p.170
Shamsher Khan	1701-2	Shahabad	Ibid, p.171

1. A.N. *Alamgir Nama.*
2. M.A. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*

Name	Year	Place	Source
Mirza Asmatullah	1702	Saran	K.K. Datta, p.38-39.
Mahmud Khan	1703	Monghyr	S.H. Askari III, pp.175-76
Beg Khan	1704	Monghyr	Ibid.
Amanullah	1707	Monghyr	Ibid.
Khanazad Khan	1715	Bhojpur	-

QALADARS OF ROHTAS FORT

Name	Year	Place	Source
Muhib Ali Khan Rohtari	1576-88		*Akbar Nama*, Vol.III, p.198, 460,536
Ikhlas Khan	1608		M.U. I, pp.198-99
Kishwar Khan	1608-12		*Tuzuk*, p.68 M.U. pp.198-99
Syed Mubarak	1624-25		*Iqbal Nama*, p.222
Bayazid Beg	1632-35		Q. Ahmad, *Corpus*, pp.235-38.
Ikhlas Khan	1636-38		Ibid.
Naknam Khan	1665		A.N.P. 876
Hizbar Khan	1666		M.U. III, p.946.
Mir Inayatullah	1702		S.H. Askari, III, pp.155-81
Abdul Qadir	1703		S.H. Askari, III, pp.155-81.

BAKHSHIS OF BIHAR

Name	Year	Place	Source
Purshottam	1579		A.N.III p.284. T.A.[1] II, p.515.
Abdur Razzaq Mamuri	1586-87		A.N. III, p.511.
Sharif Sarmadi	1592		A.N.III, p.601
Mukhtar Beg	1599		A.N. III, p.739
Ulugh Beg Kabuli	After 1599		Ibid.
Iradat Khan	1607		*Tuzuk*, pp.55-56.
Shaikh Husain Banarsi	1610-11		*Tuzuk*, pp.83-84 I.N. pp.42-44.
Mirak Husain	1615		*Tuzuk*, p.145.
Sultan Mahmud	1617		*Tuzuk*, p.189
Abdur Rahim	1683-86		S.H. Askari, III, p.164.
Ali Raza	1694		Ibid, p.165
Mirza Khalil	1703		Ibid, p.176
Mohd. Baqar	1703		Ibid.

DIWANS OF SUBA BIHAR

Name	Year	Place	Source
Mulla Taiyab	1578-80		T.A.II, p.515. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, II, p.366.
Purshottam	1581		M.U. II, pp.771-73

1. T.A. *Tarikh-i-Akbari*

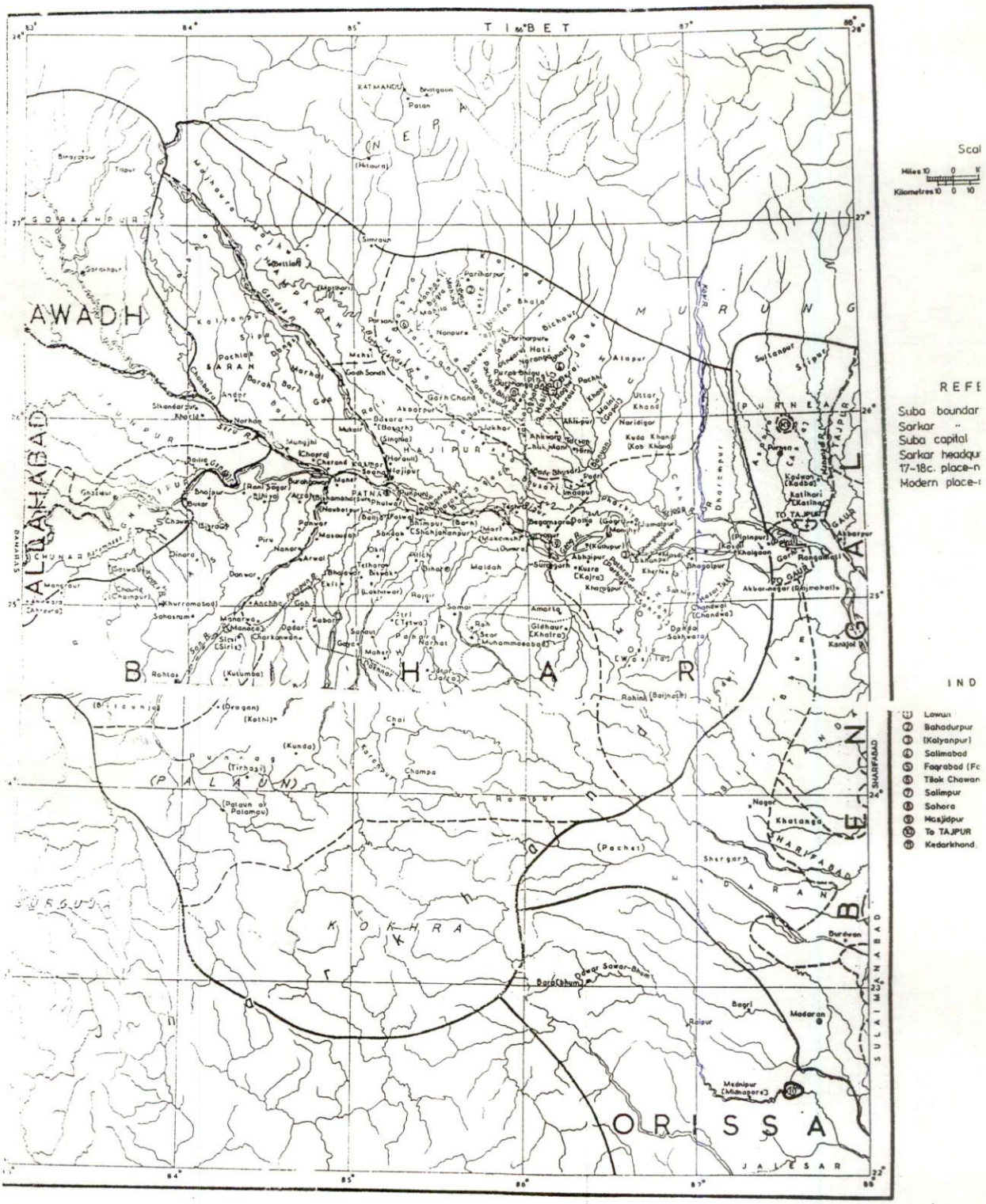
Name	Year	Place	Source
Rai Patar Das	1587		A.N. III, p.511
Rai Ram Das Rathor	1596		A.N. III, p.670.
Rai Kishan Sur	1597		S.H. Askari, Akbar's reign II, pp.9-28
Ghiyas Zain Khan	1610		*Tuzuk*, pp.83-84.
Mukhlis Khan	1624		M.U.III, pp.428-30.
Aqidat Khan	1629		*Lahori's Badhshah Nama*, I, p.245
Bani Das	1646		Lahori, II, p.408.
Musavi Khan	1683-86		M.U. I, pp.453-54 M.U.III, pp.633-36
Mir Husain	1694		S.H. Askari, III, p.166.
Saadat Khan	1700		S.H. Askari, III, p.166.
Ahmad Ali Khan	1701		S.H. Askari, III, p.170.
Abdul Qadir Khan	1702		S.H. Askari, III, p.171
Murshid Quli Khan	1703		S.H. Askari, III, p.175.

BIHAR

APPENDIX - E (i)

POLITICAL 1595

10 A

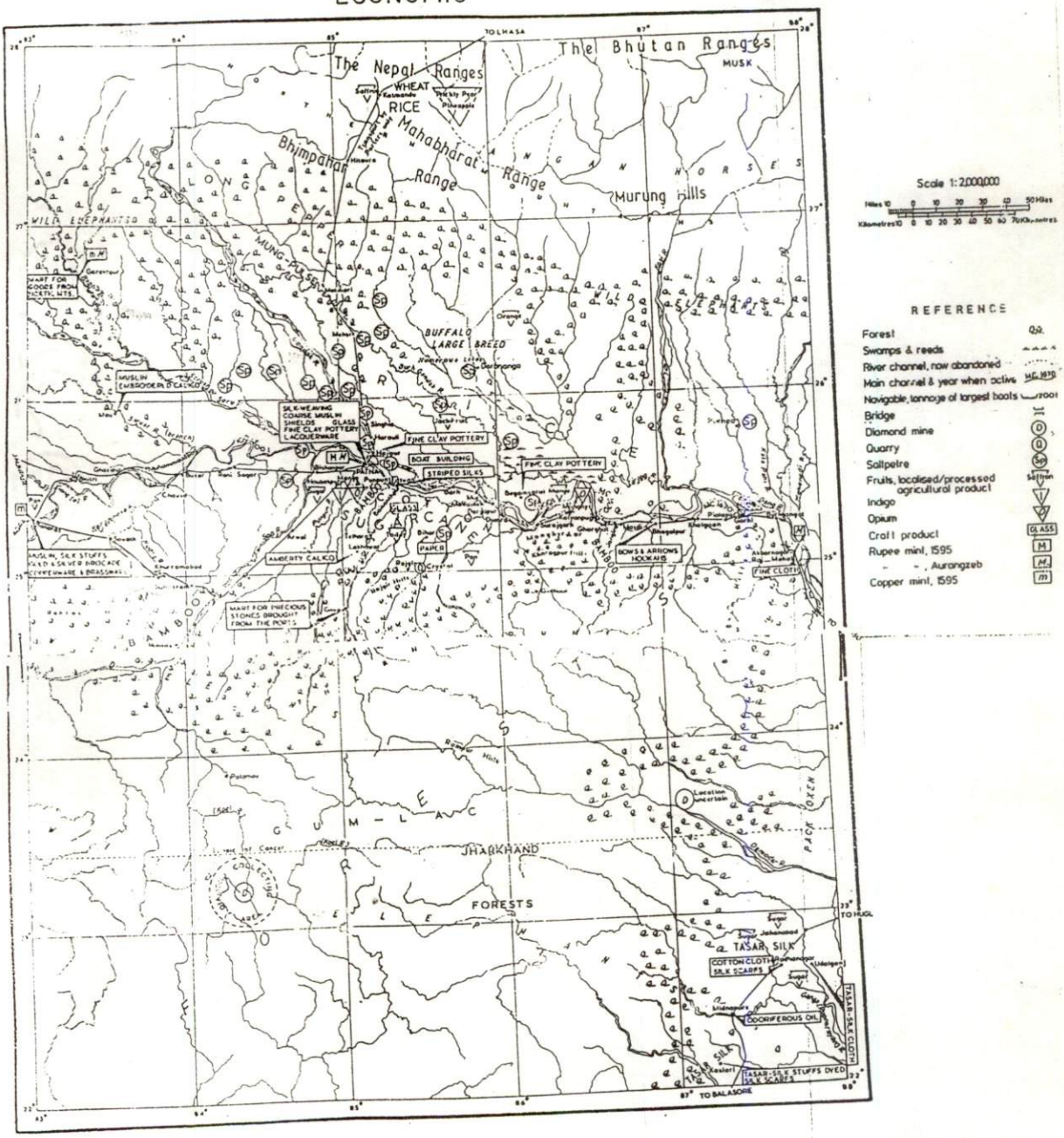


COURTESY: Prof. Irfan Habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire

APPENDIX - E (ii)

BIHAR

ECONOMIC 10 B

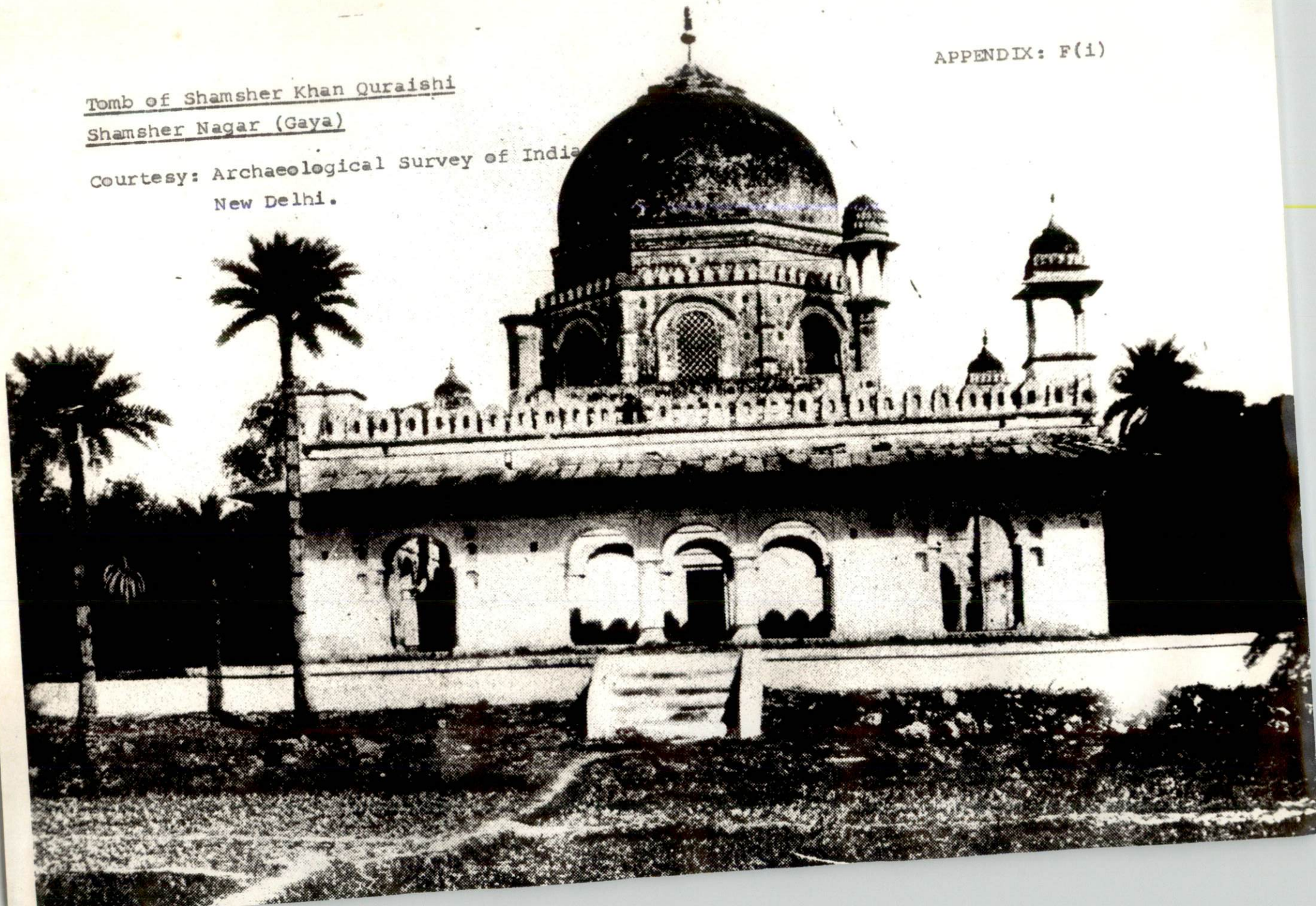


COURTESY: Prof. Irfan Habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire.

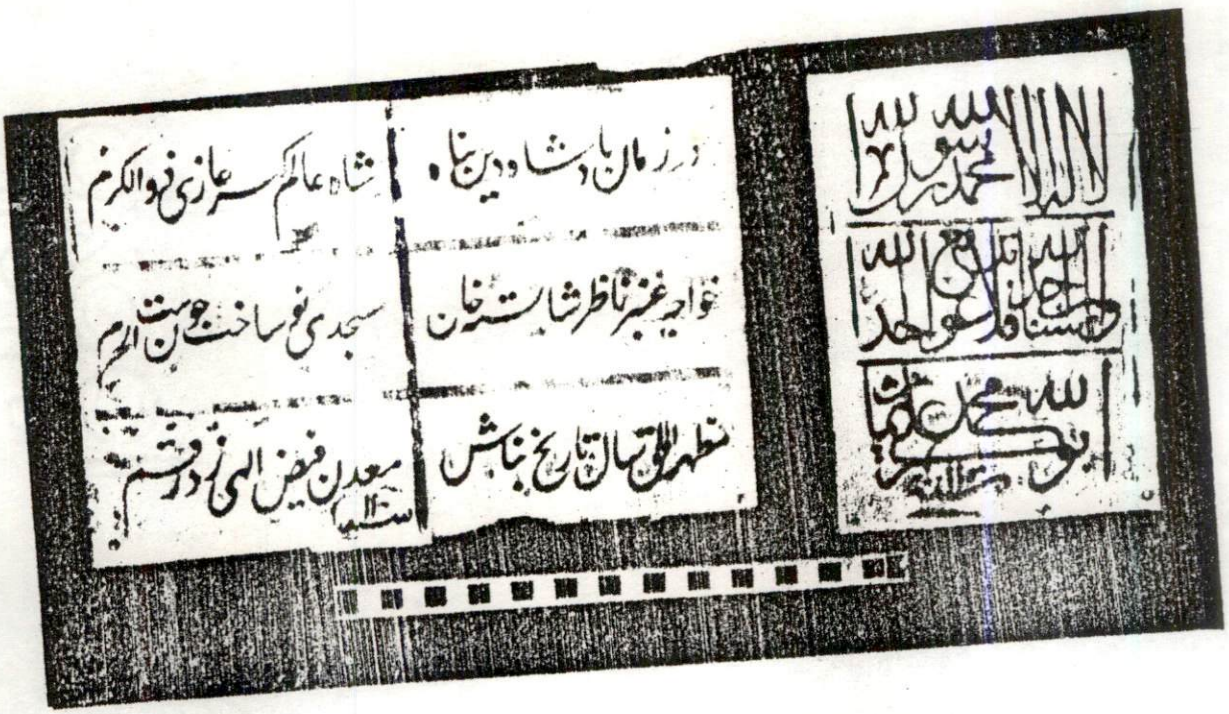
APPENDIX: F(i)

Tomb of Shamsher Khan Quraishi
Shamsher Nagar (Gaya)

Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India
New Delhi.



Inscription dated A.H. 1078 (1667-68)
From Patna City.



Inscriptions dated A.H. 1100 (1688-89)
From Patna City.

APPENDIX - G

A LIST OF SARAIS (INNS) IN BIHAR UNDER THE MUGHALS.

Name of Sarai	Situation (Routes)	Source
Sarai Sirsi	Banaras - Patna	Peter Mundy, II, p.124.
Khajurka Sarai	Banaras - Patna	Ibid; pp.125, 172.
Sawant Ka Sarai	Banaras - Patna	Ibid; p.126.
Khwaja Ka Sarai	Banaras - Patna	Ibid, pp.128, 172.
Aganur Sarai	Banaras - Patna	Ibid, p.134 Tavernier, I. 121
Saif Khan's Sarai	Patna	J. Marshall, p.160.
Arwal Ka Sarai	Arwal	P. Mundy, II, p.165 Tavernier, I, p.129.
Matta Ka Sarai	Banaras - Patna	P. Mundy, II, p.165.
Sadraza Ki Sarai (Syed Raje)	Banaras - Patna	Tavernier, I, p.120 Marshall, p.16a.
Mohania Ki Sarai	Banaras - Patna	Tavernier, I, p.121, Marshall, p.160 Buchanan Report, Shahabad, p.132.
Daud Nagar Sarai	Daud Nagar (Gaya)	Tavernier, I, p.121. Eng. Factories I, p.107.
Baikanthpur Sarai	Baikanhpur	Tavernier, I, P.123, Buchanan, Bihar and Patna report, p.75
Danapur Sarai	Danapur	Tavernier, I, p.123.
Rani Sarai	Patna - Rajmahal	Marshall, pp.77, 126.
Garhi Sarai	Patna - Rajmahal	Ibid, p.119.

Name of Sarai	Situation (Routes)	Source
Pialpur Sarai	Patna - Rajmahal	Ibid, p.120
Sultan ki Sarai	Patna - Rajmahal	Ibid.
Bhagalpur Sarai	Bhagalpur	Marshall, p.121.
Bohay Sarai	Baha Chauki	Ibid, p.124.
Surajgarh Sarai	Surajgarh	Ibid, p.124.
Bash Sarai	Bash	Marshall, p.125
Asumlik Sarai (Athmagola)	Patna - Rajmahal	Ibid; p.126
Ghamsur Sarai	Patna - Rajmahal	Ibid; p.126
Sarai Hajipur	Hajipur	Ibid; p.128.
Sasaram Sarai	Sahsaram	Ibid; p.160.
Naubatpur Sarai	Naubatpur	Ibid; p.160.
Jahanabad Sarai	Banaras - Patna	Ibid; p.160 Eng. Factories, I, p.455. Buchanan, Shahabad, p.133.
Mendroo Sarai	Noor Lakhawar	Ibid, p.110.
Mughlavi Sarai	Nepal - Patna	Marshall, p.161.
Sunder ki Sarai	Butsulla	Marshall, p.161.
Begam Sarai	Begam Sarai	Ibid, p.414.
Burh Jangal	Patna - Rajmahal	Ibid, pp.117-18.
Ney Sarai (Nabobganj)	Patna - Rajmahal	Ibid, p.125.
Vukeley Sarai	Banaras - Patna	Ibid; p.160.

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SYNOPSIS

(For the award of Ph.D. degree from L.N. Mithila University, Darbhanga)

TOPIC :- "THE PROVINCE OF BIHAR UNDER THE MUGHAL RULE, 1658 - 1765 A.D."

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1. Foundation of Turkish Rule in Bihar.
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C. List of Administrative Divisions (i.e. Sarkars and their respective *mahals* (*Parganas*) of Mughal Bihar.

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influences, and the growth and expansion of the British influence which finally culminated into the acquisition of *Diwani*-rights over the province in 1765 A.D.

Due to my adequate knowledge and understanding of the classical persian (specially *Shikasta*) I am in a position to explore the contemporary sources viz. original documents, chronicles, travelogue and *Akhbarat* etc. Plenty of source material exist at the National Archives of India, New Delhi, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna, Bihar State Archives, Patna, K.P. Jayaswal Historical Research Institute, Patna, and Patna University Library (Manuscript section), which I intend to consult during the course of my study.

I intend to present, by a proper analysis of the facts, a critical appreciation of the working of the Mughal government in the *Suba* of Bihar.

"THE PROVINCE OF BIHAR UNDER THE MUGHAL RULE, 1658 - 1765 A.D."

Justification for the Study :

The study of medieval Bihar has not been seriously undertaken by scholars and historical research on this crucial period of Indian History has not properly advanced a field. In view of the profuse addition of original material, the Mughal historiography has undergone a tremendous change both in methodology and conceptual frame-work, changing thereby the dimensions of investigation and interpretation.

It will be in the fitness of the things to undertake a detailed study of *Suba* of Bihar, which occupied a strategically link between the upper Gangetic plains of Northern India and the Eastern lands of Assam and Bengal. Rich in agricultural products and full of natural resources, inhabited by simple but industrious people and ever flourishing in trade and commerce. Bihar was a prized possession which Akbar had wrested from the Afghans after a hard struggle. After its annexation, it became one of the important *Subas* of Mughal Empire in 1580 A.D.

The aim of this study is to critically examine the political condition prevailing there which largely contributed to the stability and integrity of the province in those turbulent and strife-ridden times. The study will emphasize the impact of agrarian crisis on the general economy of the region, the method and style of government of the local functionaries, the pattern of trade and commerce and above all the soico-cultural milieu of the time, the transition of society due to various